

FRENCH PROTESTANTISM, 1559-1562

BY
CALEB GUYER KELLY

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to the Board of University Studies of The Johns
Hopkins University in Conformity with the Requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
1916

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PREFACE

The brief period between 1559 and 1562, interlacing the reigns of Henry II and of two of his sons, Francis II and Charles IX, was momentous in the history of French Protestantism. Consequently studies in diplomacy and "*la haute politique*" of that epoch of four years have been vigorously pursued, but the social and economic questions have been inadequately treated. Indeed, much of the real nature of the reign of Henry II and of the growth of the Reform during his incumbency is obscure. Nothing like the "*Catalogue des Actes du roi François Ier*" as yet exists for the reign of Henry II. Therefore it has seemed to the writer eminently desirable to begin an investigation of the development of Protestantism through the operation of social and economic forces, particularly among the industrial and working classes. The economic activity of the Huguenots reveals one of the aspects of their social life, and their commerce forms one of the great chapters in world history. Adequately to present the subject of their economic work, whether agricultural, industrial or commercial, two factors must be examined. One comprises the Huguenots themselves, their genius, work, and capital, and the other includes the nature of France,—its plains, mountains, waters, and coasts.

The unexplored domain of the Protestant resources has proved alluring. The handful of English works and even most of the French volumes devoted to Protestantism of the sixteenth century treat in a most cursory manner this vital phase of the Reform. An exception is Professor J. W. Thompson's "*The Wars of Religion in France.*" Biographies rather than general history seem to have occupied the majority of the writers on the France of Louis of Condé and Francis of Guise. Nevertheless, the Huguenot stamp

upon the home industry and foreign trade of France is unmistakable and indelible. As early as 1546 the Venetian ambassador Cavalli wrote that the commerce of Paris, "le coeur de la chretienté," was very great. In 1560 the streets of Paris "were cumbered with wagons, mules, and shoppers," while there were 40,000 silk workers at Tours, and 10,000 métiers at Rouen. In 1910-12 the writer collected convincing evidence in Africa and the Levant that the modern colonial France may be traced to the efforts of the hardy Huguenot mariners of Coligny. As a modest introduction to an important subject the results of considerable inquiry are here submitted.

Grateful acknowledgment for suggestive criticism is due Professor Nathaniel Weiss of the Bibliothèque du Protestantisme Français, Paris, Professor James Westfall Thompson of the University of Chicago, and Professor John Martin Vincent, of the Johns Hopkins University.

CALEB GUYER KELLY.

BALTIMORE, May, 1918.

FRENCH PROTESTANTISM: 1559-1562

CHAPTER I

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC FORCES

The extravagance of Francis I and of Henry II staggers belief. The expenses of Francis I during 1540¹ amounted to 5,174,000 livres. Three-fifths of this sum went to the royal family. One million livres was allotted for gifts and the good pleasure of the king, while half that sum was consumed in the upkeep of the royal tables. "Extraordinary expenses not listed" and "menus plaisirs" accounted for 700,000 livres. Guards and detectives personally attached to the sovereign received as high as one-fifth of the annual budget. In comparison with modern times the standard of exchange in the sixteenth century in France was the livre tournois, which was not a piece of money but a value, or representation of a quantity of precious metal. This varied through the Middle Ages from 98 grains of silver in 1226 to 11 in 1600. The gold coin, écu d'or, in 1561 was exactly equivalent to two livres. Accepting Avenel's estimate that the franc of Francis' reign would be equivalent to three such today, it will be seen that of \$10,223,640 spent by the sovereign in 1540, \$6,133,184 was squandered by the immediate royal household.²

Henry II wasted four hundred thousand écus d'or within two months after his accession. The gabelle, or tax on salt, was extended to Poitou, Saintonge, and Guyenne, raising terrible revolts. Henry was quite "liberal," giving Guise,

¹ Baschet, *La diplomatie vénétienne*. Paris, 1862, p. 405.

² Levasseur, *Histoire des classes ouvrières et l'industrie en France avant 1789* (2d ed., 1903), p. 37.

Montmorency, and St. André 800,000 francs at one time.³ Upon Diane de Poitiers (his huntress of the 42d Psalm!) the king lavished unprecedented gifts. The royal "equi-page de cerf" comprised forty-seven gentlemen and fourteen valets, or 64,755 livres expense annually.⁴ Often the king would lead the court to Amboise or other game preserves, hunting for a fortnight at a time in order to escape the importunities of the army officers and others to whom he was in debt. When the king traveled, it was with a cavalcade of eight hundred horses.⁵

The court was as prodigal as King Henry. The marriage of Elizabeth of France to the Infant d'Espagne cost 950,000 ducats, nearly eight million francs,⁶ but the dowries of Elizabeth and the duchess of Savoy remained unpaid until eleven years after Henry's death.⁷ Among other examples of uxorial extravagance might be recounted the 93 livres spent on sweet waters for perfuming the linen used at one of Queen Catherine's pre-nuptial banquets, where there were served 21 swans, 9 cranes, and 33 "trubles à large bec," a rare species of mystic bird. Lippomanni, the Venetian ambassador, remarked that a man at the court was not esteemed wealthy unless using thirty costumes, after different patterns, which he must change daily. In Henry's reign pride in all ranks grew with the increase in wealth and the discovery of the Bolivian mines in 1545. The rapid succession of sumptuary laws showed that luxury was general, for there were eight such between 1543 and 1570.⁸ Some ordinances applied to every one, though the majority were meant to check the extravagance of women. By the time of St. Bartholomew's, 1572, the importation of all

³ Baschet, p. 434.

⁴ Edouard Bourciez, *Les mœurs polies et la littérature de la cour sous Henry II.* Paris, 1886, p. 26.

⁵ Pigeonneau, Henri, *Histoire du Commerce de la France*, 2 vols., Paris, 1885, vol. II, p. 57.

⁶ \$4,708,200.

⁷ Cabié, Edmond, *L'Ambassade en Espagne de Jean Ebrard, seigneur de St. Sulpice de 1562 à 1565.* Paris, 1902, p. 223.

⁸ Baudrillart, H. J. L., *Histoire du luxe privé et public depuis l'antiquité jusqu'à nos jours.* 4 vols., Paris, 1880; vol. iii, p. 438.

cloth, linen, velvet, satin damask, taffeta, gold and silver lace, armor, swords, daggers, and tapestries had been forbidden.⁹ At the meeting of the estates of Orléans advocate Lange of the Third Estate complained of "the superfluity and sumptuousness of the dress of jurors, which surpassed all the effeminacies of the Asiatic and ancient sybarite."

The flaunting arrogance of the king's treasurers was proverbial. One superintendent of finances, de Cossé, filched 200,000 écus d'or in one year.¹⁰ Many of the treasurers had houses and even châteaux, which rivaled the king's in elegance, the means to purchase and furnish which they had secured mainly by plundering the populace and cheating the government. One official who was hanged owed the equivalent of half the yearly budget, three million livres!

The cloud of economic discontent hanging over Henry II's unpopular reign broke into a storm by 1559. "French finances are shattered" wrote Bishop St. Croix.¹¹ For the nine years previous France had been under four times the customary financial burden. The *taille*, or land tax, levied by Louis XII averaged 600,000 écus, out of a total revenue of two millions.¹² Francis I quintupled the *taille* and thus obtained the sum of five million écus yearly. Under Henry II the *gabelle* and other taxes supposedly brought six and one-half millions écus, but in 1559, the year of Henry's death, the receipts showed little more than 3,700,000 écus with which to meet expenses of ten millions.¹³ The same year "loans" to the sovereign amounted to fourteen millions écus. Finances were so low that the king tried to economize on Brissac's army in Piedmont in 1557.¹⁴ "In sparing 3000 francs (a month) we shall acquire 100,000 livres' dishonor," said the commander. The humiliating treaty of

⁹ Baudrillart, vol. iii, p. 440.

¹⁰ De la Barré-Duparcq, *Histoire de Henri II.* Paris, 1887, p. 11.

¹¹ St. Croix, Prosper de, *Tous les Synodes nationaux des Eglises réformées de France* (ed. Jean Aymon, Rotterdam, 1710), p. 176.

¹² Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers Foreign*, No. 1432, Oct. 5, 1560.

¹³ L'Hôpital, Michel de, *Oeuvres-complètes* (ed. Dufey, 5 vols., Paris, 1824-26), II, p. 36.

¹⁴ Duparcq, *Henri II*, p. 50.

Cateau-Cambrésis was indirectly due to the retrenchment policy. Francis of Guise hurried back from Italy in January, 1558, and instead of attacking the Spanish and English allies in Picardy, by a sudden stroke of genius assaulted and took Calais, and swept the English off the soil of France. Yet this same army of Guise was supported by public subscription, so great was the royal debt.

Money was frequently "loaned" to King Henry by the lords and ladies of the court. The aristocracy had just fallen on evil times. It groaned under poverty at the very time that gold from North America was quadrupling prices and the Renaissance was fostering a love for luxury. The nobles had had to follow the gloomy King Henry about for several years in external wars of disaster. Some, like the constable Montmorency, were bankrupt from paying ransoms amounting to 100,000 francs, or double that sum. The aristocracy clung desperately to the tatters of medieval feudalism. It hated to see the old order disappear, and pleaded against the new centralization. It gave voice to its complaints at the meeting of the Estates of Orléans and Pontoise, in 1560-1561. Aristocratic rights, it said, were being encroached upon by the peasantry, who were trying to rise in the economic and social scale at the expense of their superiors. To meet this rivalry the nobility demanded permission to engage in every line of commercial activity without losing any of its privileges.

The economic discontent, which was hastening the introduction of the Huguenot faith, waxed still more acute when the frail boy Francis ascended the throne. To the astonishment of the Parlement of Paris, one of the king's first acts was to give to "the Cardinal of Lorraine and his brother Francis, duke of Guise, entire charge of finances and the military," on July 11, 1559.¹⁵ Of their complete usurpation of power a later chapter will deal. The severe taxes of the Guises which followed were rarely used to alleviate conditions. Even the infantry, cavalry, gendarmes, and

¹⁵ Archives Nationales (Paris), K 1492, No. 50, Alva to Philip II.

officers of justice remained a long time without pay. Chancellor L'Hôpital's speech before the Parlement of Paris, July 5, 1560, reiterated that the debt of the crown at Francis II's accession totalled 43,700,000 livres besides interest, while pensions and salaries of many, particularly gendarmes, were five years in arrears.¹⁶ The receipts fell short of the expenses by fourteen and a half million livres. With no prospect of the land tax in any section being lowered, it would take the crown revenues ten years to meet the embarrassment. The debt of the king to the Genoese, Germans, Milanese, Florentines, and to Lucca amounted to 644,287 ducats.¹⁷ When Charles IX became sovereign, before Christmas, 1560, he began to spend money at the rate of one million livres a month.¹⁸ The Estates General at Pontoise, in the summer of 1561, was held for the specific purpose of finding a way out of the king's financial difficulties.¹⁹

"France is the dearest country I ever came in," wrote the duke of Bedford in February, 1561.²⁰ Prices were fearful, indeed. From 1525 to 1575 they rose without any stop and with marvelous rapidity. Gold and silver averaged treble their value of today so that some of the staples cost as high as ninety per cent more than today. Nor were the variations simple fluctuations, for the rise and fall might be triple or quadruple. The high price of beef in the sixteenth century was almost a calamity. In 1500 meat had been abundant, but sixty years later the food of the most prosperous peasants was inferior to that of the servants at the prior date.²¹ One writer said: "In the time of my father we had meat every day, the dishes were abundant. But today [1560] all has changed." At Nîmes the average

¹⁶ Great Britain, Cal. St. P. For., No. 763, Dec. 3, 1560.

¹⁷ Ibid., No. 1432, Oct. 5, 1560.

¹⁸ Ibid., No. 430, Sept. 11, 1561.

¹⁹ La Popelinière, *La vraie et entière histoire des troubles et choses mémorables avenues tant en France qu'en Flandres et pays circonvoisins, depuis l'an 1562-1577* (2 vols., Basle, 1579), vol. i, p. 271.

²⁰ Great Britain, Cal. St. P. For., No. 1031, Feb. 26, 1561.

²¹ Avenel, *Georges, Paysans et Ouvriers des trois derniers siècles*. Paris, 1910, p. 193.

consumption of meat per year was 1½ kilos in 1560 against 55 in 1900. A Languedoc proverb iterated the situation: "Ail et viande, repas de richard, ail et pain, repas de pay-san." Quadrupeds had the right to pasture but seldom the wherewithal to prosper. In some provinces, notably Limousin, peasants complained that they were deprived of the "right of the second grasses." Before a notary the proprietor had to declare that he did not intend to use said fields for his own profit and would not use them except from March 25 up to the gathering of the first crop of grass. On one of Charles V's journeys across France, the townsmen of Malines had presented to the king with much pomp and vain glory a "*vrai phénomène*," a bull weighing one thousand kilograms!²² Ordinarily the cows and beef were mediocre, save in Limousin and Lyonnais.²³ In vain the magistrates besought the butchers not to augment the price of meat. The *doléances* of Normandy contained this plaintive note: "The poor people of Normandy are just now reduced to such extremities that no meats are obtainable; therefore they are trying to exist on fruits and cheese."

Wheat quintupled in price from 1500 to the wars of religion, while the revenue from the land was only two and one half times as great. The hectolitre (2½ bushels) advanced from four to twenty francs.²⁴ The irregularity, so common to troubled epochs in the middle age, recommenced. In 1555 the hectolitre sold for 16 francs in Languedoc and 30 francs in Lille, in the north. In 1562 the same measure cost all the way from 1 franc 35 at Caen, to 33 francs at Tulle. At Nîmes it was 15 francs and at Paris, 26. French wheat rose from an average of 8.08 francs per hectolitre in 1557 to 13.93 in 1562 and 20.70 in 1563.²⁵ During peace, in 1564, it dropped to 7.85. Avenel quotes the following prices in seven provinces:

²² 2313 lbs.

²³ Monteil, *Histoire agricole de la France*. Paris, 1870, p. 175.

²⁴ Avenel, *Découvertes d'Histoire Sociale*, 1200-1910. Paris, 1910, p. 56.

²⁵ Avenel, *Histoire économique des prix*. 4 vols., Paris, 1894, vol. ii, p. 900.

	Ile-de-France	Nor-mandy	Berry	Orleans	Dauph-iny	Alsace	Langue-doc
1525	3.80	1.68	3.86	6.94	2.51	3.83	5.19
1561	11.09	5.38	21.90	11.32	14.09	12.08	16.68

The prices of other grains per hectolitre exhibited the same fluctuations:

	Wheat	Rye	Oats	Barley
1525	4 francs	3.30	1.60	2.85
1561	12	9.00	4.25	6.00

These variations in price caused the workingmen great misery, especially as the rise or fall was usually sextuple. To add to the economic embarrassment, the farmer in 1560 harvested not more than 10 hectolitres from 200 days' work, as compared with an average of $37\frac{1}{3}$ hectolitres from 300 days in 1912.²⁶ The discrepancy in the relative number of working days is accounted for by the large number of fête days which the church saw fit to declare. Since the working man observed 89 holy days and 52 Sundays, his enforced idleness amounted to two days out of five.

Because the complex variations in wheat prices made grain too costly for many peasants to buy, much ground remained untilled. This was most annoying, as every place in France was populated as much as was possible under Henry II. The square shape of the country is commodious for containing the greatest population and for supporting intensive farming. Always considered the first kingdom in Christendom,²⁷ France boasted the richest soil in Europe and unlimited agricultural possibilities, yet was suffering want.

Since the reign of Charlemagne it had been forbidden to buy the fruits of the earth before their maturity; every contract made in spite of this was void. The sale of wheat in the field (*en vert*) was considered by the ecclesiastical tribunals of the sixteenth century as exactly the same as usury. Dealings in "futures" were therefore relentlessly banned. Minions of the government spied upon the harvesters once the wheat was in the bins. The spectre of

²⁶ Avenel, *Découvertes*, p. 171.

²⁷ *Relazione de Giovanni Soriano*, p. 357.

speculation caused the authorities to enact severe measures against those who seemed to reserve more grain than they could use. It was forbidden to keep grain longer than two years unless for private consumption.²⁸ Such a move could only further paralyze activity and distribution. Moreover, when the wheat arrived in the market it could not be opened until a certain hour. Every purchaser had to prove that he bought for his exclusive use. The whip and even prison, besides heavy fines, awaited those who risked any commercial enterprise in grain.

The greatest restraint in the grain trade consisted in the difficulty of communication. Without a consideration of the roads of the time it is impossible to appreciate the barriers to internal commerce. "Le Guide de Chemins" published by St. Estienne (1553), described the great French routes. Though the kingdom spread some 576 miles from Calais to the Pyrennees, and 494 from Finisterre to the Vosges, and contains an area of over two hundred thousand square miles, the total length of the roads was about 15,625, as against half a million today.²⁹ Two thousand bridges of very bad construction spanned the numerous rivers. The roads were mostly in the natural state. The records show that only two leagues of the main artery, the Orléans-Paris highway, were paved—Orléans to Cercotte.³⁰ An ordinance of February 15, 1556, provided for the paving of four more leagues on the same road, between Toury and Artenay. Oaks were ordered planted along the routes in 1553 by Henry II. Possibly it was just as well that the order remained a dead letter, for the shade trees would have still further encouraged the robbers and bandits who infested the roads during the wars. The expenses of travel were just as costly as they were in the fifteenth century, so that the transportation of grain by land for great distances was unthinkable. A short trip burdened it with enormous charges. A hectolitre of wheat in transit from Amiens to

²⁸ Avenel, *Paysans*, p. 145.

²⁹ Levasseur, *Commerce*, vol. i, p. 185.

³⁰ The league, or lieue, varied from three to four miles.

Rouen, 130 kilometres, was taxed one-third of its value in port duties, brokerage, tolls, and customs.³¹

Navigable waterways, in spite of government orders, were nearly always obstructed by mills or encumbered with toll stations. Of the latter there were in 1562 no less than 120 on the Loire, the longest river in France.³² As boats plied between the mouth at Nantes and Le Moine, 518 miles inland, the produce must be taxed every four miles. The Loire tolls alone netted over fifteen millions francs in 1570. Though royal edicts in the sixteenth century suppressed many toll houses along the rivers Garonne, Seine, Loire, and Rhone, the economic situation was not appreciably helped. Each boatload of salt in transit from Nantes to Moulins, on the Burgundian Loire, must pay four times its original value. The rate on sugar from Bordeaux to Montauban on the Garonne was two hundred per cent. Skins and spices were carried up the Rhone to Lyons at a still higher charge. In ordinary times at present Dakota wheat can be imported into Auvergne for one per cent of the cost.

Leonardo da Vinci, multifarious of talents, in his capacity as engineer taught the use of canals to the French, among whom were some of the new Lutheran sect. Following the death of the great painter-geologist in 1519, Adam de Crapponne conceived the project of uniting the Saône and the Loire with a canal. Lyons, seated at the junction of the Saône and the Swiss Rhone, might have been reached from the upper Loire by a 25-mile canal. Digging began in 1558 but was terminated abruptly when King Henry was mortally wounded by the lance of Montgomery in the early summer of the following year. A 40-mile canal would have sufficed to connect the Seine and Saône (Rhone) systems, near Dijon, forming a north-to-south artery of trade. The Garonne basin in the southwest might even have been linked to that of the Rhine in the northeast boundary by three canals with a combined extent of less than one hun-

³¹ Avenel, *Découvertes*, p. 171.

³² Levasseur, *Commerce*, vol. i, p. 187.

dred miles, but we must consider this period without serious artificial waterways.

The surface of France may very properly be likened to that of England, with the distinction that while in the latter the mountainous tracts are in the north and west, in France they occur in the south and east. All the great rivers, save the Rhone, flow either from east to west or from south to north. This hydrographic uniformity of itself promoted the exchange of produce between any section of France. The navigable rivers of the kingdom traversed seven thousand kilometres (4330 miles), two-sevenths of the road mileage in 1558. The value of connecting canals was already apparent. Prominent among the agitators for such projects were the Calvinist coteries of government officials in those big towns which would profit from such a venture, notably Lyons, Orleans, and Montauban. Were Da Vinci alive today the fruition of his thought would stand revealed in a canal system of twenty-three thousand miles—four times the distance from Calais to the Mediterranean, but these dreams were unfulfilled in our period.

With such serious defects in the ways of communication and the means of transport grain could scarcely have traveled at all. So it happened that with two good crops in succession in a province, the price fell to nothing, while one or two bad seasons brought excessive prices. This double embarrassment occurred in the same region every few years, or during the same year between two regions only a little distance apart, for the simple reason that public opinion in those days practised protection on a plan exactly contrary to that of today.³³

People were so preoccupied with the interest of the consumer that they were always afraid of starving, while they seemed to care little about the lowering of prices, which affected only the cultivator. Some of the city governments, like Nevers, Maçon, Nerac, and Caen, Pharaoh-like, stored up wheat for their citizens in the plentiful years. This

³³ Avenel, *Paysans*, p. 43.

hysterical protection extended to the coast provinces. Forts to keep off the Algerine pirates from Dauphiny and Languedoc, and Spanish, English, and Flemish privateers from Gascony, Saintonge, Poitou, Brittany, Normandy, and Picardy might be built on one severe condition: the overlords must promise King Henry that they would export no wheat by sea! Yet, unless the owner wanted to pay one-third the value in internal duties, the grain must be sent by water.

Other items difficult to catalogue swelled the expenses of the cultivator. The insatiable greed of neighboring provinces kept the grain from circulating freely. Though their products were somewhat diverse the adjoining divisions of Normandy and Brittany, of Berry and Burgundy, erected effective financial barriers to mutual intercourse. The governor of each province levied a private tax on the grain in transit through his domain. The coastal provinces might not send wheat abroad, the interior provinces were precluded from interstate commerce. Even intraprovincial commerce in cereals was prescribed in many cases. Worst of all, the merchant was often compelled to let his grain go according to a scale of prices fixed in accordance with the good pleasure of the authorities. This again was protection in conflict with the public interests valued by modern standards. Many provinces remained full of wheat and empty of money.

The high price of cereals caused the peasant to put a great part of his wealth in bread. Avenel has estimated bread as two-fifths of the workingman's diet.³⁴ Least of all the commodities had bread increased in price in the seven centuries prior to the sixteenth, yet it cost twice as much in Henry II's day as under President Poincaré. In a peasant home with an annual expenditure of 800 francs of food a rise of one-third in the price of bread meant an extra outlay of 110 francs. It varied from 15 per cent in well-to-do families of the working class to 90 per cent in very poor families. The rich ate white wheat bread. The Parisians ate

³⁴ Avenel, *Découvertes*, p. 168.

white bread only on patron saints' days. In good years the workman subsisted on "dogbread" of wheat and rye, rye, barley, millet, and buckwheat: in bad years, oat bread.⁸⁵ According to his financial need his bread ran the gamut of colors: white, grey, yellow, brown, and black. An old Provençal proverb points out that "the horses who plow the oats are not those who eat them." As formerly in Russia, Roumania, and Egypt, whose inhabitants had scarcely sufficient to eat, there were exported yearly millions of bushels of grain, so this absurd yet true condition held in old France. the average citizen groaned under both extremes of surfeit and need.

France has always stood first in wine production. Viticulture was introduced into Gaul (Marseilles) by way of Greece, and during the first century was confined to the Allabroges on the Rhine and to the Bituriges on the Gironde. In the middle ages wine was the usual French drink. The vine was found all over France even in those sections where today beer and cider are drunk. Climatic conditions alone prevented its cultivation in the departments stretching from Finisterre to Flanders. The traveler will recall that France is of a gently undulating character, so important for the proper exposure and ripening of the white, red, and black grape. Much of the soil of France is adapted to vineyards, being clayey, quartzose, graveled, and silicious. In contrast to the climbing vine system the cultivators used the dwarf plant method.

No branch of agriculture required more minute attention or paid so rich dividends. Cato's remark that wine is the most profitable production was amply borne out in France prior to 1560. With salt it was one of the favorite sources of government revenue. Fifteen millions yearly rolled into French coffers through the wine trade. The prices obtained overshadowed even the receipts from the Cyprus wines of Nicosia and Famagusta. Bordeaux as always was the chief distributing port, especially to those foreign and

⁸⁵ Baudrillart, *Luxe*, vol. iii, p. 440.

home regions where the mass was celebrated. Unlike wheat and the general cost of living the price of wine fell until 1600, a sign of agricultural progress. But wine composed but six per cent of the expenses of the working class. At the outbreak of the wars the beverage rose to 17 francs per hectolitre; in the centuries since it has decreased by 13 per cent.³⁶ Beer, soaring in price along with its ingredients of oats and barley, rose from five to eighteen francs the hectolitre by 1560, more than twice the present cost.³⁷ Flemish and Frisian beer in 1560 cost nine times as much as three years before. Cider varied from 1 franc 50 to 14 francs.

The main economic hardship was that the best white wine sold poorly if far from a town, while the cheapest brand brought too liberal prices if the consumers were near the place where it was raised. A worse plight was precipitated in 1560. To the dismay of many towns, which opposed the execution of the Edict of Amboise on the ground that wine and the vine were the only means of livelihood, a government octroi was laid for six years on all wines.³⁸ The rate was fixed at five livres for each measure of wine, a terrifying move in such troubled times.³⁹

Vegetables and spices accounted for seven per cent of the total expenses of the workingman of 1560.⁴⁰ Arable land in France comprised only a little less than half the area of the kingdom, and gardening was circumscribed by the small variety of vegetables. It would be anachronism to speak of

³⁶ Avenel, *Découvertes*, p. 168.

³⁷ Avenel, *Paysans*, p. 202.

³⁸ *Mémoires de Claude Haton*, p. 331.

³⁹ The principal places producing wine were: (Auvergne) Thiers and Limagne; (Berry) Aubigne, Issoudun, Sancerre, Vierzon; (Blésois) St. Dié, Vineuil, le Grouets de Blois; (Burgundy) Auxerre, Beaune, Coulanges, Joigny, Irancy, Vermanton, Tonnerre; (Champagne), Aï, Avenay, Epernay; (Dauphiny) L'Hermitage; (Franche-Comté) Arbois; (Guyenne) Bordeaux, Chalis, Grave, Médoc; (Ile-de-France) Suresne, Argenteuil, Rueil, St. Cloud, Soissons; (Languedoc) Frontignan, Gaillac, Limoux; (Nivernais) Pouilly and Charité; (Normandy) Cassis, la Ciotat, St. Laurent; (Touraine) Amboise, Azay, le Feron, Bléré, Bouchet, la Bourdaisière, Claveau-la-Folaine, Mailly, Mazières, Mt. Richard, Mt. Louis, Nazelles, Noissy, Landes, St. Avertin, Veret, Vernon, Vouvray. Avenel, *Paysans*, p. 209.

⁴⁰ Monteil, p. 159.

the artichoke, asparagus, tomato, melon, and eggplant in the reign of Francis II. Cabbage did not appear until the eighteenth century, nor did potatoes until the reign of Louis XVI. Certain vegetables have disappeared or lost their importance since 1560, such as hemp, poppy leaves, bovine leaves eaten as salads. Others, like hops, beets, and tobacco appeared for the first time.⁴¹ Flour, peas, beans, and lentils were all prominent on peasant tables. At the period of the religious wars peas cost 12 francs the hectolitre in Languedoc, 15 francs in Orléannais, 26 in Dauphiny, and 39 in Flanders. Beans and peas were of those rare merchandises which simultaneously dropped in price and diminished in quantity. The ancient oils, appetizers for the salads of poppy and the meagre variety of other vegetables, cost one-third more than our olive oils and double the price of oils used by the working class in 1914.

Dairy products were especially expensive, though much cheaper than meat. Today butter and milk are ten per cent cheaper than four centuries ago. In the fifteenth century butter brought 49 to 60 centimes the kilo.⁴² Under Charles VI and Charles VII the price was 1 franc 50, then down to half a franc in the time of Francis I. Under Charles IX it was up once more to 1 franc 25. The cows gave only a pound and a half of butter a week. Milk cost thrice as much from November 1 to May 1 as during the rest of the year, because the cattle were milked only half the year. The animals had the right to pasture, but very seldom the means to prosper, while to complicate conditions hay was expensive.

The abstinence of the Roman Catholics from meat during two hundred days in the year increased the cost of fish to fifty per cent more than nowadays. Interior provinces like Burgundy and Limousin were forced to consider sea fish a luxury. When an occasional mail courier drew rein in the inland villages, the citizens found in one saddlebag letters, in the other, fresh fish. The bourgeois ate salted fish, while

⁴¹ Monteil, p. 159.

⁴² Avenel, Paysans, p. 195.

the well-to-do bought river fish. The citizens ate only tencle, perch, and barbeau, while the poor used barbillons and grenouilles. In 1559 there were a great many brooks and small streams now long since dried up. The few canals in existence were also stocked with fish. Even with these sources the demand always exceeded the supply. Trout, carp, pike, salmon, and all other inland fish were much dearer than now. Whereas fresh salmon cost 25 francs the hectolitre, the salt and smoked variety might be had for three francs fifty.⁴³ Trout brought five francs. Huguenot sailors from Rochelle, St. Malo, and Boulogne were just opening up the Newfoundland and St. Pierre fishing grounds in the new world simultaneously with the efforts of the Dauphinese and Languedoc fisherman off the western and northern coasts of Moslem Mauretania. Unfortunately, it was not possible to transport sea fish to any distance, though the price was reasonable in the coast towns. In 1560 a lover of piscatorial dainties at Cherbourg or Bordeaux could buy four soles, two skates, two eels, two mackerel, a millet and a plaice for fifty cents. Cuttle and herring also were cheap, but fish accounted for but three per cent of the working man's expense.⁴⁴ Avenel cites the case of the millers' boys employed near the Atlantic and Mediterranean shores, who stipulated in their contracts that they should not be compelled to eat sea salmon more than twice a week, including holy days. The inland provinces were also discriminated against with reference to the oyster trade. Five dozen shelled oysters might be purchased for 51 centimes: in their shells 3 francs was charged for the same quantity. Oysters in barrels cost three times as much in the time of Francis II (5 francs the hundred), as in the fourteenth century; in shells, 9 francs 50, the same as in 1912.

Birds were often found on the tables of the poor in the sixteenth century, especially the swan, stork, rook, bittern, and cormorant. The upper classes ate with more relish a different variety. When Charles IX reached Amiens, in

⁴³ Avenel, Paysans, p. 204.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 204.

Picardy, on his epoch-making tour of the provinces, he was presented with a dozen turkeys, besides grey capons, peacocks, herons, pheasants, and quail.⁴⁵ France, however, was not sufficiently attractive as an aviary and preserve to suit the fastidious. Flanders contributed larks; Austria, partridges, hares and deer; Italy, quail; England, pheasants; Russia, reindeer. In 1914 the arrivals of game in France were only 1100 tons native and 450 imported, while the quantity of domestic poultry alone equalled 21,000 tons. A similar ratio would have existed in the sixteenth century, had the wishes of the citizens availed. Chickens were not plentiful, but eggs cost one-half as much as modern eggs. Before 1560 a dozen eggs were sold for less than the cost of one egg in the United States today. Fruits, as well as vegetables, improved in France after St. Louis and other French crusaders returned from their quests. From Rhodes, Cyprus and Tarsus came the cherry; from Armenia, the apricot; from Persia and Palestine, the peach and prune; figs, apples, pears, and sugar were also common in the sixteenth century.

Many revolts disturbed the various sections France as a result of the imposition of gabelles and other special taxes upon salt. The impost varied in different provinces, from simple to quadruple. The great number of partial exemptions by the government availed but little to assuage popular indignation at the unreasonable price of this necessary commodity. Up to the sixteenth century in France, even in Franche-Comté and Lorraine, almost the whole of the salt in commerce was produced from the evaporation of sea water, and the processes of refining remained rudimentary for a long time. In 1560 vast resources of springs and rock salt deposits lay undiscovered or unworked.

Firewood, in the comparative absence of important coal deposits in France, was rapidly increasing in cost. Though the artificial or ornamental plantations of the kingdom were much fewer in number than those of England, its natural

⁴⁵ Baudrillart, *Luxe*, vol. iii, p. 440.

forests were far more numerous. One-sixth of the surface of the country was wooded, with forests in almost every department. Lower Normandy, the Orléannais and the mountainous boundary of France on the side of Switzerland abounded in trees. Today the French forests represent a value of three billions of francs, but in 1551 there was a fine for cutting down trees except by the lord and his subjects for their own use.⁴⁶ No fuel might thus be purchased by the unwooded sections of France during frigid seasons such as the winter of 1562. At Gray, in Franche-Comté, a fine was levied on two poor men who cut down a tree which they thought was dead. A century before the peasants could have felled it for sale. The season of "pacage" (cutting) lasted in most forests only from March 15 to October 5. In some places the peasants revolted (1525-1579) because the wood of the forest fell entirely into the hands of ecclesiastics, who had not paid the overlord for it. The people of Jumièges and Braquetuit in Normandy maintained in a process of 1579 that the forest was common to them and to the abbey to whom it nominally seemed to belong: that by means of a sol per year and by family, they had then the rights of pasture, of firewood, and of the acorns for their swine.⁴⁷

Wearing apparel is much cheaper today than it was in 1560. Changes in the mode increased the expense. There was more difference in the exterior dress of a contemporary of Louis XI and one of Charles VIII than between two citizens of the times of Napoleon and Poincaré. The workman spent a good share of his money on clothes. To get a woollen dress or suit in the time of the early Valois cost one hundred francs or one-eighth of his wages.⁴⁸ Very little linen was used because it was twice as expensive as today. Headgear now is more democratic and less expensive. In Francis II's reign a beaver hat, edged with silk or gold, cost one hundred francs (present money) while a felt

⁴⁶ Avenel, *Paysans*, p. 42.

⁴⁷ Avenel, *Découvertes*, p. 68.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 182.

hat, with pearls, was worth eighty dollars of modern coinage.⁴⁹

Stockings were too expensive for any but the rich. Cloth goods were much the same as today. Shoes on the other hand were very cheap. Sabots cost only 14 to 38 centimes. Footwear of the middle and noble classes was just as inexpensive. At Romorantin in 1558 the "escarpins" of the soldiers were valued at only 1 franc 16. The workingman need spend only one-twentieth of his dress money on shoes. Towels were unknown, and bed clothes were little used in poor families.

M. Paul Lacroix writing with reference to the costume prevalent in France claims that a distinct separation between ancient and modern dress took place as early as the sixteenth century.⁵⁰ In fact our present fashions may be said to have taken their origin from about that time. It was during this century that men adopted clothes closely fitting to the body,—overcoats with tight sleeves, felt hats with more or less wide brim and closed boots and shoes. The women also wore closely fitting dresses with tight sleeves. When Henry of England had the famous meeting with Francis I in 1540 he was apparelled in "a garment of cloth-of-silver damask, ribbed with cloth-of-gold, as thick as might be; the garment was of such shape and make as was marvellous to behold."

The French king was attired in equal splendor. France was always ready to borrow from every quarter anything that pleased her, yet never failed to place her stamp upon whatever she adopted, so making any fashion essentially French. The nobles and courtiers of each country were careful to emulate their sovereigns in their attire, and in wearing several gorgeous costumes, all of them in the same style of fashion, every day. A man at court was not esteemed wealthy unless using thirty costumes after different patterns. In Henry's reign pride in all the estates

⁴⁹ Avenel, Paysans, p. 250.

⁵⁰ Lacroix, Paul, Mœurs, usages et costumes au moyen âge et à l'époque de la Renaissance. Paris, 1871, p. 11.

grew with more wealth. The villagers wanted to dress like townsmen. The costume of the middle and the humble classes bore a decided general resemblance to the elaborate and costly attire of the dignified and wealthy of their contemporaries. They wore the same short close jerkin, the short doublet, often with loose sleeves, the short cloak, the flat round cap plainly made from simple materials, and the tight leggings and broad shoes with puffed upper hose. The high cost of living and dressing aggravated the economic situation, and made the French Reform doubly certain.

A terrible factor in the France of the sixteenth century was the bubonic plague. In the previous century it had frequently appeared in every part of Europe. Again in the period of the religious wars the pest recurred with grim persistence, but the populace was often more afraid of the headache than of the characteristic red eyes and swollen tongues. Sanitation and sewerage were foreign to that century. The environment for the development of bacteria outside the body was pitifully favorable. Marsh lands were never drained and decaying matter near the houses was piled high, so that the plague was ably seconded by its nearest ally, typhus fever. Nîmes experienced the plague thirty-three times in three hundred years, together with leprosy in 1558.⁵¹ The number of Protestants in Orléans had been greatly diminished when Throckmorton, the English ambassador, was there as Coligny's guest. In May, 1561, the plague was ravaging Paris, Lyon, Dijon, Maçon, Sens, Troyes, Châlon, and Bray.⁵² At Provins the town counsellors elected barbers, guards, and a gravedigger. Few of those smitten with this most rapidly fatal of diseases escaped. The Prince of Condé records that practically every village and town was afflicted by August, 1562.⁵³ Just after the fall of Rouen in October of the same eventful year, the plague was raging in the royal army. The same

⁵¹ Delaborde, Comte J., *Vie de Coligny*, Paris, 1882, p. 120.

⁵² Haton, Claude, *Mémoires*, 1563-1582. 2 vols., Paris, 1857; vol. i, p. 224.

⁵³ *Mémoires de Condé*, 1559-1610. 6 vols., London, 1743; vol. ii, p. 20.

malignant enemy conquered the English army in Havre, causing its surrender in July 28, 1563. In the streets the victims reeled like drunken men, often expiring in their tracks. During 1562 the weekly mortality averaged more than a thousand. Even the gravediggers died from the contagion. The year of St. Bartholomew's 50,000 died in the single city of Lyon. The provinces which suffered most were Bas-Languedoc, Provence, Lyonnais, Burgundy, Champagne, Ile-de-France, and Normandy. The west and southwest seemed exempt.⁵⁴ The infection followed the trade-routes, for Toulouse, Lyon, Châlons-sur-Marne, Chalons-sur-Saône, Maçon, Langre, Bourges, La Charité, Orléans, Tours, Moulins, Sens, Melun, Dijon, Troyes, Soisson, Beauvais, Pontoise, Paris, Rouen, Chateau-Thierry, and the Norman ports suffered more than others.⁵⁵ The pestilence was introduced into Languedoc through Spain, and was at its height in July, 1554. Those exposed to infection carried white wands.⁵⁶

Of social conditions poverty has by far the most powerful influence on the spread of plague. The pestilence is subject to the law of periodicity or definite outbreaks, whether appearing on the Euphrates, the Volga, or the Seine. In France the recurrence usually followed years of famine, and naturally the lower classes succumbed most readily. The victims of the upper classes were for the most part barber-surgeons, clergy, and officials whose occupations took them among the sick. Though there were only three years of exorbitant prices for grain and wine in Henry II's reign, drought and frosts often played havoc. In 1547 occurred terrible frosts, along with the plague.⁵⁷ The drought of 1557 was added to the alarm and grief over the suc-

⁵⁴ DeVic et Vaissette, *Histoire Générale de Languedoc* (new edition in course of publication), vol. xi, p. 447. Paris, 1733-45.

⁵⁵ Haton, vol. i, p. 332.

⁵⁶ Great Britain, Cal. St. P. For., No. 824, Nov. 20, 1580.

⁵⁷ Mandet, *Histoire des Guerres civiles, politiques, et religieuses dans les montagnes du Velay pendant le 16^e siècle*. 7 vols., Le Puy, 1860, vol. I, p. 63.

cession of Philip II.⁵⁸ The earth produced very little. Eggs were 10 deniers apiece. The spring of 1562 augured well, and Haton remarked that the vines promised grapes and raisins more abundantly than for six years. In April and May the bunches were over a foot long, and hopes were high that the tuns would be filled. However, cold and continuous rains destroyed all the crops. Though there had been a warm spring the rains were colder than ice. On June 24 it rained and snowed and became so cold that the heaviest garments were of no avail outdoors. As a result only one-third the usual wine supply materialized and the wheat was ruined. The people, out of work and complaining, believed that "all this showed the ire of God, to which was added the contagious pests all over France."⁵⁹

The possessors of soil in the sixteenth century became rich, while the proletariat became poor in an unheard-of fashion. This was partly due to the fact that wages were proportionate to the movement of the population or the extent of vacant land. Science had not yet broken the old equilibrium between the earth, population, and its products.⁶⁰ Not all Frenchmen collectively would have been less rich, but individually they would have been poorer, had France been peopled by only one million in 1560. Levasseur and Merimée assert that economically France could have supported twenty millions of population in the sixteenth century. In 1560 the Venetian ambassador said there were sixteen millions in France.⁶¹ A Venetian syndicate interested in the country in 1566, more reliable than most calculators, estimated the population as between fifteen and sixteen millions.⁶² During the wars the population began to decrease, after a rise since 1553.

The workable hectare of land rose in price from 475

⁵⁸ Felibien, *Histoire de la ville de Paris*. 5 vols., Paris, 1725; vol. ii, p. 1059.

⁵⁹ Haton, vol. i, p. 331.

⁶⁰ Avenel, *Paysans*, vol. viii, p. 8.

⁶¹ Pigeonneau, p. 173.

⁶² *Relations des ambassadeurs Vénétiens*. 15 vols., Paris, 1838; vol. iii, p. 149.

francs (1501-1525) to 723 francs (1551-1575). In 1560 the hectare ranged from 18 to 723 francs.⁶³ The gradation in revenue was from 30 centimes to 72 francs. Property did not depreciate so much in those provinces wholly Catholic or exclusively Protestant, where the fighting was least, like Languedoc. The mean hectare averaged: North (Ile-de-France, Picardy, Artois), 263 francs; Midi (Languedoc, Dauphiny, Venaissin), 268 francs; East (Lorraine, Champagne, Bourgogne), 333. In the center of France where the fighting was thickest (Orléans, Limousin, Berry, Auvergne) it fell to 200 francs.⁶⁴ In comparing the revenue from the hectare of ground to the price of the hectolitre of grain since 1500, grain had quintupled while the revenue of land was only two and a half times as great. The relative insecurity of exploitation affected especially the Calvinists and Lutherans, who in many districts received much the same treatment as the modern Armenian Christians in Turkey. A decade after the outbreak of the wars the maximum price of the hectare of ground was 3000 francs, the minimum, 13. Four hectares of the first and eighth arrondissements of Paris (near the Madeleine) were worth 160 francs in the reign of Francis I, 5600 in 1552, 606,000 in 1775 and 40,000,000 in 1900.⁶⁵

In the fifteenth century at Paris some houses were falling into ruins, but with the sixteenth there was a change, not only in prices, but also in the houses to which they apply. The jump of the figures is almost brusque. The suburban trend was evident even in the middle of the sixteenth century. In 1550 there were so many empty houses in Paris that the king forbade the building of more in the suburbs, while the population was one-seventh the present census of 2,888,000. Much as the common people were disgusted over the high prices in 1560, the figures rose by leaps and bounds by 1600. A section of 14,000 houses in Paris valued at a fifth of a billion of francs in the preceding century, was

⁶³ Avenel, *Histoire économique des prix*, vol. ii, p. 889.

⁶⁴ Avenel, *Histoire économique des prix*, vol. ii, p. 340.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, *Découvertes*, p. 118.

appraised at 1,482,000,000 francs in 1610.⁶⁶ Building lots which cost two francs the metre in the day of Henry II are sixty-five times as valuable in 1914.

Formerly the authorities of France gave attention to wages only to reduce them, the laws regularly being far more favorable to the employers than to the employed. In the history of wages is the history of four-fifths of Frenchmen four centuries ago, who at birth signed a pact with manual labor, and sold their lives in order to live. The fifteenth century had been most advantageous for wages, when the lands had been useless and fallen almost to nothing. The sixteenth century witnessed the triumph of landed proprietors and the rout of manual workers. The lowering of wages was not sudden, or the result of a catastrophe or public crash. It applied to all professions and proceeded insensibly like a retiring tide.⁶⁷

The laborer of the sixteenth century had but half to live on as compared with his ancestor between 1400 and 1500.⁶⁸ The price of work rose 33 per cent, but the cost of living, 200 per cent! The relative values of precious metals remained triple ours of today. In 1560 there was thirty-six times as much silver as gold, thanks to Central and South American sources. Back in the fourteenth century living had been one-third of the cost of today; in the fifteenth, one-sixth. Then gold and silver brought it, in the sixteenth, up to one-fifth of the present cost. It has been estimated that a day's work under Aristophanes, in 400 B. C., brought half a franc (half a drachma), just as two thousand years later, under Louis XIII.⁶⁹ The day laborers in the towns received 3 francs 60 under Charles VIII, 2 francs 90 under Henry IV.⁷⁰ Deducting the multitudinous holidays the farm hand of 1500 averaged an earning of 306 francs per annum. By the time the religious wars were devastating the country his yearly income had fallen to 150 francs. Pro-

⁶⁶ Avenel, *Découvertes*, p. 118.

⁶⁷ Avenel, *Paysans*, p. 156.

⁶⁸ Avenel, *Découvertes*, p. 150.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁷⁰ Avenel, *Paysans*, p. 25.

portionately to the number of hectares cultivated there were more hands in the country, because there was more need for its culture. Then, too, many of the harvesters and hay-makers were often town weavers, who left the spinning wheel or shuttle for the fork or sickle, according to the seasons. From 1200 to 1500 the wages of the servant were based on 187 days' hard labor, maximum, and 150, minimum, with food.⁷¹ The town servant's stipend faded from 282 francs in 1500 to 120 francs a century later. The rural servant who received 138 francs yearly under Francis I saw this wage dwindle to 73 francs at the close of the wars of religion. During the first half of the sixteenth century the carpenters averaged four francs, and the painters and masons 3 francs 60 daily.

Abuses in the function of the trade corporations threw France of the sixteenth century into the throes of industrial transformation, which progressed *pari passu* with the Reformation. The splendors of the Renaissance, the flourishing of art and the prosperity of industry should not give us a false impression as to the social conditions of the artisans of the period, nor disguise the progress of an evil in the ruining of the corporative institutions. The social situation of the workman in the sixteenth century was not enviable. The literature of the day was not interested in him. He scarcely appears in the romance of Rabelais or the *Heptameron*. France was not yet an industrial or commercial nation, for the great majority of the people were peasants, small proprietors, artisans, and small merchants, with the bourgeois and *gens-de-robe* forming the upper class. The economic revolution coincides with the Reformation, which in a great measure became the vehicle of its expression. Rumblings had been heard as early as the reign of Charles VII, but the reigns of Charles IX and Henry III saw the storm break. Especially were the guilds involved in the industrial upheaval. Industrial tyranny had long brooded over the guilds, which since the period of Charles

⁷¹ Avenel, *Paysans*, p. 4.

VII had the tendency to fall into the hands of a few. Serious economic and political results ensued. The political control of the cities fell into the hands of a ring of the upper bourgeoisie and this oligarchy had gradually squeezed the lower classes out of all participation in the government.⁷² As early as 1512 at Nevers and 1530 at Sens, the lower classes had been shut out of the council.

Capitalism, hastened by the increase of the precious metals, was precipitating a further economic revolution of even greater moment than the political transformation. The "gens de metier," whom we shall examine in a succeeding chapter, became a capitalist class, monopolizing the "hords" of the guilds and excluding others from the political ruling class.⁷³ The ancient guild was becoming a mercantile association conducted by a few wealthy families who regulated wages and fixed the terms of apprenticeship. In 1559 the apprentices in Paris and the provinces were not paid, and were bound by terms of from one to six years.⁷⁴ Cheap labor was obtained by increasing the number of apprentices, lengthening the terms of service, and employing raw workmen in competition with skilled labor. While the workman's lot became more and more unhappy it became more and more difficult to cease being a workman. The justice and good will of the master and the respect and obedience of the workman became the exception. It was more difficult than ever for the workman to become a master. Simple companions were being excluded in membership by sons and sons-in-law of masters. Besides, many new charges were added to the old obligations. The summer day for work lasted from 5 a. m. to 7 p. m.: the winter day, from 6 to 6.⁷⁵ The scabbard and playing card makers and glovers had an even longer day, from 4 a. m. to 9 p. m. Work might not be made up at night, for the bad lighting was conducive to poor goods. Moreover, the

⁷² Thomson, *Wars of Religion in France*. Chicago, 1909, p. 217.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 218.

⁷⁴ Hauser, *Ouvriers du temps passé*. Paris, 1899, p. 26.

⁷⁵ Hauser, *Ouvriers*, p. 78.

multiplicity of holidays left only two hundred days when "oeuvres serviles" were allowed. Later it will be shown how the revolution of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were profitable to the peasant, though ruinous for the artisan.

The patriarchal regime had remained vigorous up to the sixteenth century. In it each family spun wool, and gave it to be woven to neighboring weavers.⁷⁶ The guilds which were perfecting during the period from 1250 onward only partly succeeded in monopolizing trade. There now followed a struggle between labor and capital, between organized and free labor.⁷⁷ The cost of living, the lowering of wages, and unfair treatment by the guilds caused the cleavage to grow sharper. A new class of "chambretons" sprang up. This was composed of those poor and unapprenticed workmen who undertook to work in their own quarters. They saved shop fees by working in their own homes, and sold the results of their manual labor as best they could. Journeymen of this type even traversed parts of Flanders, Germany, and Spain while disposing of their goods. From 1457, when the guild masters first complained of this unapprenticed set, to 1559, this free work had reached the amazing figure of two-thirds of the production in France. Guilds with their strict regulations and money fees could not compete with the new system.

The Reform appeared as the first organized movement of discontent.⁷⁸ Thousands of downtrodden workmen were quick to align themselves with the new movement, not merely for religious reasons, but because the Reform was precisely what they sought,—a protest. Moreover, there poured into France many artisans from Germany, where in the great industrial centers the small workmen had been even more squeezed out than in France, England, and Flanders. These simple cobblers, shoemakers, wool-carders, carpenters, and others wandered over France carrying "the

⁷⁶ Avenel, *Découvertes*, p. 182.

⁷⁷ Thompson, p. 218.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 219.

economic gospel of free labor and Lutheranism."⁷⁹ Before the outbreak of the first civil war Protestant recruits were drawn chiefly from wool-combers, joiners, dyers, cutlers, fullers, glazers, pewterers, shoemakers, weavers, hosiers, tailors, coopers, bookbinders, locksmiths, and other trades.

The guilds were becoming dangerous fires of agitation. The confréries were much run down and were accused of favoring monopolies and debaucheries.⁸⁰ Each "*corps de métier*" carried a banner under the patronage of the Virgin and of numerous saints who protected the work.⁸¹ The center of the confréries was the chapels of the saint under whose protection it was. All edicts of dissolution were ineffective. During the sixteenth century the guilds were under governmental suspicion on account of their turbulent assemblies and the "*bourgeois guard*." By the time of the wars, royalty imposed more directly its authority over the trades in sanctioning their statutes and tracing their rules, while the weights and measures were simplified as far as possible. A little while before it had been quite different. The edict of 1540 placed them all under the watch of twenty horse and forty footmen.⁸² In 1559 the "*bourgeois guard*" was replaced by a permanent body of footmen, who were paid sixteen sous apiece by the master of the town house and four sous parisis by the owner of faubourg houses, in return for keeping watch. On March 3, 1561, this was raised to twenty sous tournois and five sous for the suburbs. An ordinance of 1561 limited itself to saying that many of the confrères must be used only for divine service, charity and instruction—proof of an effort to reform.⁸³

Letters patent of February, 1562 read:⁸⁴ "In certain towns

⁷⁹ Thompson, p. 219.

⁸⁰ St. Leon, Martin, *L'histoire des corporations de métiers depuis leurs origines jusqu'à leur suppression en 1791*. Paris, 1897, p. 284.

⁸¹ Capefigue, *Histoire de la Réforme, la Ligue, et du règne de Henri IV*. 3 vols., Paris, 1834; vol. i, p. 281.

⁸² St. Léon, p. 284.

⁸³ Hauser, *Ouvriers*, p. 167.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 167.

of the kingdom, especially at Lyons, the guilds had been re-established; that under this pretext the trade people carried on Sundays and week days, by certain persons dressed in masks and other extravagant ways, i. e., by the kings and queens of the trade, the sacred bread decorated with banners diversely painted: they had drums and fifes followed by a great number of artisans, from the house of the head of the confreries to the church. Afterwards they returned in the same procession to the cabarets where the feast had been prepared." So Charles IX abolished the guilds, but in 1564 they had so little decreased that their banquets were again prohibited. Laplanche says there were 10,000 artisans in Paris, according to one merchant, who did not want their consciences changed to that of the cardinal Lorraine.⁸⁵

Chancellor L'Hôpital himself drew up the famous ordinance of Orléans, aimed directly at restraint of the economic tyranny of the guilds, by establishing freer working conditions, and by lightening the burden of apprenticeship.⁸⁶ Both the religious and political Huguenots endeavored to effect the revision of the guild statutes as part of their program for reform at the Orléans States-General. The government attempted to stamp out the guilds, whether of religious character or workmen and patrons. Their hoards were ordered spent for hospitals or schools in the several towns, and the municipal officers were made responsible for the edict.⁸⁷ Royalty was literally compelling trade associations to be more altruistic. In their extremity the guilds gained the support of the state church by stimulating religious organization. The government in letters patent of February 5, 1562, and December 14, 1565, directly superintended the "confréries de métiers." It was not long, however, before the guilds were acting as nuclei of the famous local and provincial Roman Catholic leagues. Hauser points

⁸⁵ Laplanche, Regnier de, *Histoire de l'estat de France . . . sous Henri II.* 2 vols., Paris, 1836; vol. ii, p. 274.

⁸⁶ Isambert, *Recueil général des anciennes lois françaises de 420 à 1789.* 29 vols., Paris, 1822-27; vol. xiv, p. 63.

⁸⁷ Thompson, p. 221.

out that the labor party identified itself with the Protestants, but that the upper bourgeoisie, who dominated the guilds, adhered to Catholicism. At Rouen in 1560 the merchants "declared a lock-out against the workmen who attended Protestant preaching." Montluc in 1562 referred to the Huguenots as novices in organization, guided mainly by their pastors. If we except the example in Dauphiny the Protestants had no early societies similar to the local and provincial Roman Catholic leagues. The latter will be described in a succeeding chapter.

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CHAPTER II

THE RESOURCES OF THE HUGUENOTS

The vast political projects of Henry IV and of Richelieu really began with Coligny, the great Protestant. His thought was to avert civil war and guard against its recurrence by opposing to the great power of the house of Austria a united France. For the realization of this plan he relied on the enfranchised Low Countries. This great idea was taken up in due time by Henry IV, but meanwhile, just as Charles IX became mature enough to lend himself to the project, the horror of St. Bartholomew's Eve fell upon a frenzied France.

As to the political ideals of Coligny, that great patriot possessed decided notions concerning a French world-empire. He would submerge religious differences in founding a trans-oceanic domain. External expansion assured freedom of worship and a united France: internal dissensions meant annihilation of religion and foreign intervention, possibly outside domination. To superintend a program of Protestant economic, political, and religious expansion there was no one better suited than Admiral Coligny himself. Ordinances of 1549 and 1583 fixed the jurisdiction of the admiral of France as absolute judge of matters of war and merchandise on the sea.¹ Palandri says that after the treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis in 1558 patriotism was to be subordinated to fanaticism; co-religionnaire meant compatriot, despite nationalities and frontiers,² but certainly this spirit did not permeate Coligny and the leading French Protestants. They planned for a united France at home and for colonial frontiers which should expand to four continents.

¹ Levasseur, *Commerce*, vol. i, p. 194.

² Palandri Eletto, *Les négociations politiques et religieuses entre la France et la Toscane*, Paris, 1908, p. 84.

Theirs was no such policy as that of Henry II, who presented the paradox of aiding the Protestants of Germany against Charles V and crushing the Protestants at home. The colonies of Coligny failed, but mainly because the French government was unfavorable. The calibre of Huguenot refugees who crossed the sea was scarcely less notable than that of the element which emigrated to Germany, Switzerland, England, and Scandinavia. For their numbers the Protestants possessed proportionately more wealth and culture. Though a company under the ban and a despised sect, Coligny's colonists included nobles, chiefs in castles, gentlemen, captains, statesmen, and honest yeomanry. Simultaneously with the introduction by Henry II of the fiendish "Chambre ardente" in the "name of religion," a Havre mariner, de Teston, was designing an atlas, in 1550, which the Huguenot sailors were soon to use with wonderful results.³ In 1555 the body of emigrants on a ship sailing from Havre was Protestant.⁴ The Portuguese sphere of Brazil was the goal of an expedition launched the following year, but the doom of their prospects was pronounced when the renegade Huguenot Villegagnon, leader of the company, read a letter from the Cardinal of Lorraine, restoring him to the bosom of the church. Attempts undertaken in 1560 and 1563 succeeded better than the Florida fiasco of 1565, when the French were massacred by the Spaniards under Menendez. In 1561 Chantonay, Philip's ambassador, warned the Catholics "on the subject of an armament of heretics mostly gentry, preparing at Dieppe against the Indies, with 10 galleys and 50 guns."⁵ The Reform had first entered the port of Dieppe in 1557, when a bookseller who had gone to Geneva on business, returned with some copies of the scriptures. Most of the magistrates became Protestants, and the drapers and weavers accepted the doctrine most eagerly. After driv-

³ Bourciez, p. 51.

⁴ Blackburn, *Admiral Coligny and the Rise of the Huguenots*. 2 vols., Philadelphia, 1869; vol. ii, p. 67.

⁵ Archives Nationales, Paris, K 1495, No. 4, 1561.

ing out the feast day procession of Charles of Lorraine, April 30, 1559, the town became openly Protestant.⁶ John Knox preached there for six weeks, with great results for the new faith. Such were some of the evidences of the growing strength of Protestantism.

Levasseur classifies French industrial history into seven natural periods. (1) The Roman period found the artisan a slave of his college under imperial despotism. (2) The period of invasions saw the artisans dispersed, living like serfs on lands of lords or like monks in cloisters. (3) The period of feudalism and the crusades was an epoch of prosperity. The bourgeoisie was born, while the corps de métiers reformed on a new plan, with an eye to privilege and mutual protection. Industry and commerce flourished. (4) The period of the Hundred Years' War was one of cruel misery. The artisan tried to protect himself by multiplying associations and religious bonds. The King put the working classes more directly under his hand. (5) The period of the Renaissance and of the Ligue was one of brilliant development of art and industries, but all the abuses of the corporation were in full blast. The king did not triumph over the spirit of turbulent independence until Henry IV. (6) The period of Colbert found royalty superintending the work. (7) The period of the eighteenth century was that of economists.⁷ Our period of 1559-1562 occurs during the fifth cycle, when there was brilliant development of art and industries, but the monopolies of corporations were in full control. The operations of the Huguenot merchant at home and abroad must be considered under those conditions.

The importance of the commercial class in the sixteenth century has been underestimated. It is true that the French were not essentially an industrial or commercial nation at that time. The maritime power of France was negligible along side that of Spain, England, and Venice. In the cities the upper classes of bourgeois and gens-de-robe naturally

⁶ Vitet, *Histoire de Dieppe*. 2 vols., Paris, 1844; vol. i, p. 95.

⁷ Levasseur, *Classes Ouvrières*, vol. i, p. v (preface).

overshadowed the small merchants and artisans.⁸ Society was aristocratic and governed by the clergy and nobility, who possessed most of the wealth of the country. Above them, at the top of the social edifice was the king, gradually centering in himself the legal, administrative, and financial organization of France. But the aristocracy in 1559 had fallen on evil days. It was losing its opulence at the very time the Renaissance was fostering a love for luxury and gold from America was quintupling prices. France for thirty years had drunk too deeply from the intoxicating life of Italy—an atmosphere of restored paganism. The nobles clung frantically to the tatters of medieval feudalism, voicing their grievances at the Orléans and Poissy-Pontoise estates of 1560–1561. They protested against the encroachment on their rights by the peasantry, and certainly showed no scorn of merchants when they asked permission to engage in all commercial pursuits, without cancellation of feudal privileges. The new centralization in government was viewed with alarm. The peasants, on the other hand, were restless because they felt they could only climb up the economic and social ladder at the expense of the nobility.

With the economic and religious revolution was occurring a change in the manners of society which affected all classes. New world discoveries and the Italian wars of France were sponsor for a new internationalism. Returned soldiers and workmen from Italy, Germany, Switzerland, and the Low Countries were introducing new manners and customs.⁹ Probably the citizen-merchant class was the most contented section of the community. All the changes of the previous half-century had played into their hands: Renaissance, discovery of America, expansion of trade, decline of nobility, and rise of prices. Further, the legal and administrative classes, under the new centralized royal power, were from the citizen ranks.¹⁰ The guild or “*corps de métier*” was

⁸ Thompson, p. 18.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 220.

¹⁰ Fagniez, *Documents relatifs à l'histoire de l'industrie en France*, 2 vols., Paris, 1877, vol. ii, p. 55.

a civil person, a religious and charitable society, and as such influential. The municipal franchises of the bourgeoisie still had enough importance in 1561 to excite the solicitude of the royal power. "You should gain four of the principal citizens who have most power in the principal towns of France," said Catherine to Charles IX, "and also the principal merchants, for in that way you will control the elections."¹¹

The great commercial fairs constituted one of the very greatest spheres of Protestant mercantile activity and propaganda. For a long period the fairs of Champagne in northern France enjoyed tremendous prestige. Each year in that province there were held successive fairs at Lagne, Bar, Troyes, and Provins, in each case of forty-eight days duration. Bruges finally succeeded Champagne in the estimation of Italian and German merchants. The north of France also boasted one of the oldest fairs, that of St. Denis at Paris. Here were gathered from the eleventh to the twenty-fifth of June year after year patrons from the whole Mediterranean basin. In the city proper all merchants were compelled to close their shops during the fortnight. Dealers in horses and cattle, money changers, and those selling according to weight were permitted to offer their specialties daily; other articles were sold at stated periods. Huguenot mariners were richly recompensed for bringing from the Levant such luxuries as rugs, pearls, porcelain, indigo, perfumes, silks, muslin, cotton goods, ivory, dyestuffs, sugar, camphor, aloes, rhubarb, and laudanum. When ordinances forbade the payment of any gold to the Moslems, French traders discovered other means to prevent the curtailment of their business. Increasing facility of communication witnessed the apogee of the fairs in the sixteenth century.

In 1559 the fairs at Bordeaux, the greatest wine port of France, had not yet been injured by the civil wars. The

¹¹ Buet, *L'Amiral de Coligny et les Guerres de Religion au 16e siècle*. Paris, 1884, p. 37.

annual dates were March 1 and October 15.¹² Tobacco was first introduced into France at Bordeaux by Jean Nicot, in 1560, and thereafter this product became one of the staples at the semi-annual fairs.¹³ These markets were greatly assisted when five years later Charles IX made them free of taxation and control in return for a payment of 60,000 livres. Bordeaux boasted many factories of pins, paper, morocco, wool, cloth, silk, mixed goods, gold and silver cloth, and swords. It was also a great center for salted fish. Haddock were exported to Brittany, salt salmon to Ireland, herring to Normandy, England, Scotland, Ireland, and Flanders. Sardines and cod were imported from Normandy and Brittany.

Lyons, however, possessed the greatest of all French fairs, rivalling any in Europe. Four fairs were held each year. In the sixteenth century the city transacted business of more than two millions écus d'or per annum. This town of 120,000 souls held the truly wonderful record of 35 millions imports, and 65 millions exports yearly¹⁴ (silver being then fifteen times in value of what it is now). Situated at the juncture of the Rhone and the Saône, it was the natural entrepôt for commerce from Italy and Switzerland and much from Spain, Flanders, and Germany. Fair merchants were compelled to reserve their places a year in advance. In 1450 Lyons had been made the monopoly center of the silk manufacture, and by 1536 silk operators had been relieved of all taxes and military service. While on the tour of the provinces in 1564 Charles IX was amazed at the wealth and commercial prosperity of Lyons.¹⁵ Said the traveler Nicolay in 1573: "Lyons is the place of exchange which gives the law to all the European towns, to which flow people from all places, who have resorted there for the honesty and hospitality of the Lyonnais, and the gain ac-

¹² Levasseur, *Commerce*, vol. i, p. 189.

¹³ Bachelier, *Histoire du commerce de Bordeaux*. Bordeaux, 1862, p. III.

¹⁴ Steyert, André, *Nouvelle Histoire de Lyon et des provinces de Lyonnais*. 3 vols., Lyon; vol. iii, p. 100.

¹⁵ *Négociations toscanes*, vol. iii, p. 515.

customed to be found there."¹⁶ The poet Charles Fontaine eulogized it thus:

"Ou est la ville ayant tel bruit
En échanges, foires, marchandises?
Nulle mieux que Lyons ne bruit
Soit les Anvers ou les Venise."

Before discussing the religious aspect of the Lyons fair, it may be said of its economic importance that the total exports and imports of the town (in 1560 one-twenty-fourth the present size of Paris), reached the unheard of figure of one hundred millions écus d'or. The wines and grain of Burgundy traveled only a short distance to Lyons. Silks and velvets were brought from Turin, Toulouse, and Paris; wool fabrics from nearly every province; clocks from Languedoc, Normandy, Auvergne, Rheims, and Abbeville; tapestries of high warp from Rouen, Auvergne, and Fellerlin; sword blades from Vienna; cutlery from Rouen, Montauban, Langres, Thiers, Moulins, Falaise; mercury from Paris, Tours, Troyes, Caen, and Rouen; sword scabbards from Paris, Rouen, Troyes, Lyons, and Thiers. Gloves were imported to the fairs from Paris, Issoudun, Vendôme, Montpellier, and Rouen; pins from Puy, Nantes, and Rouen; saffron from Albigeois, Limoges, Rochefoucauld, and Cahors; verdigris from Montpellier; enamels from Limoges; hampers from Dauphiny and Provence; while prayer chaplets of agate, pearl, lapis-lazuli, porcelain, amber, coral, enamel, glass, and wood came from all Christian countries.¹⁷

The foreign countries of Europe contributed an extensive variety of goods. Germany sent gold, leather, iron, tallow, sulphur, wax, tar, cotton; Augsburg, 30,000 livres worth of fustians yearly; Hungary, Frisia, and Denmark sent horses. St. Gall sold cloth; Mayence, hams. Italy and the Levant exported fifteen millions yearly to Lyons, as follows: silk stuffs, velvet, cloth of gold and silver brocade, gold cloths,

¹⁶ Levasseur, *Commerce*, vol. i, p. 189.

¹⁷ Steyert, vol. iii, pp. 101 et seq.

camlets (of Angora goat hair), laces, arms de luxe, cloaks, theatre costumes, silk hats, ostrich plumes, straw hats, scarlet cloths, furs, porcelain vessels, marble, alabaster, enamel, Venice glass, Piedmont leather, carpets, articles of Turkish morocco leather, war horses, falcons, and ultramarine blues. Damascus and Corinth supplied rice, honey, and grapes. Smugglers introduced Venetian glass and Genoese silks (worth 200,000 livres), lingerie de luxe, and gold brodered shirts. Holland contributed cambrics, linen, and wool worth 900,000 livres besides cheeses. Flanders traded in tapestries, serges, carpets, lace, linen, armor-trappings; and Antwerp, spices (400,000 livres), and precious stones (half a million livres). England and her colonies sent gold and silver, tin and lead worth three million livres as well as coal, leather, and light cavalry horses. From Portugal there came yearly 800,000 livres in money, perfumes, spices, sugar, honey, wax, alum, dyes, sweetmeats, preserves, figs, dates, oranges, raisins, oils, and wines. The Lyons fairs supplied Spain with wheat, pastel, salt meat, linen, wool, paper, and hardware.¹⁸ In return she shipped oranges, dried grapes, almonds, olive oils, cotton, silver and gold uncoined or ingots to the value of three millions. Raw silk smuggled into Lyons brought two million livres in one year. The values of other Spanish imports received at the fairs amounted to more than a million livres.

In addition to this commercial importance Lyons was the greatest Protestant city in France. Even Cardinal Granvella conceded that the principal citizens were Huguenots, who comprised at least one-fourth the population.¹⁹ The city was radically Protestant on account of its proximity to Geneva, and the tendency was stimulated still more by the great discontent prevailing among the lower classes engaged in silk and other industries. Furthermore, Lyons was the capital of printing, and nearly all the printers, particularly

¹⁸ Levasseur, *Commerce*, vol. i, p. 208.

¹⁹ *Papiers d'Etat du cardinal de Granvelle*. 12 vo's., Bruxelles, 1877; vol. vii, p. 467.

the Germans, were favorable to the reform.²⁰ At least nine hundred homes in Lyons were suspected of Protestantism in 1560. Discontented with their social state, the working class offered a marvelous field for the propagation of Protestantism. The struggle between capital and labor, between the bourgeois aristocracy and the gens de métier, was making itself felt in 1560. It was taken up by the printer's trade where the occupation placed the workmen in intellectual relations with authors, home and foreign. Thus there was opened up a new horizon so that the first champions of the reform from the working class came from the printers' ranks. Though the bulk of the Lyonnais commerce was in the hands of 12,000 Italians, the latter did not oppose the reform. This is not surprising in view of the fact that they were mainly natives of north Italy, from Genoa, Milan, or Florence. Foreign Catholic merchants and artisans were none too kindly disposed toward their Catholic majesties, Francis II and Charles IX, who mulcted Lyons of loans more often than any other French city.²¹ The presence of many Swiss and Germans in the town gave Jacques de Savoye, Duke de Nemours, the governor, great anxiety because of the large quantity of arms smuggled into the city under guise of merchandise.²² Foreign soldiers disguised as merchants attended the Lyons fair in April, 1560. The hand of the Guises was evidently preparing for the inevitable in a city where many causes facilitated the reform. For a long time Lyons had combated the temporal domination of the archbishops. It did not covet the rich domain of the church, like the princes of the north, but even more resolutely than Germany, the town disliked ecclesiastical government.²³ The great numbers of strangers attending the fairs acted as effective Protestant missionaries in a cause already agreeable to the native.

Just as today, many of the prominent French bankers in

²⁰ Hauser, *De l'humanisme de la réforme en France*, in *Revue Historique*, vol. lxiv, p. 271.

²¹ Great Britain, *Cal. St. P. For.*, No. 619, Oct. 10, 1560.

²² St. Sulpice, p. 266.

²³ Montfalcon, *Histoire de Lyon*. 9 vols.; vol. ii, p. 660.

1560 were of Huguenot persuasion. The Protestant war chest for many years was replenished through the ability of these men of finance to negotiate loans at home and abroad. The resources of the large numbers of the nobility and clergy who professed the reform between 1558 and 1562 were also at the disposal of the Protestant movement. To Lyons fell the honor of instituting the first French bank, in 1543. The system was introduced from Italy to replace the money changers, whose business in those days of diversified coinage was decidedly profitable. Six years after Lyons' innovation, Toulouse established a bank, in 1549,²⁴ followed by Rouen in 1556. Many Italian banking firms were invited to install branches in 1560. In the meantime the standards of money had improved.²⁵

At the same time the right to strike coins was not a royal monopoly and it is interesting to note that the Protestants possessed a distinct money of their own. Independence and financial programs dictated such a procedure, but of its history only a little is known. It is to be deplored that material dealing with a practice which must have been very common is scarce. That mine of historical information, the annual *Bulletin of French Protestantism*, describes coins discovered in and about Orléans, the central stronghold of Protestantism, which bear the features of Prince Louis of Condé and the legend "Louis, Roi." Condé was really a king at Orléans. He ordered all the gold and

²⁴ St. Léon, Martin, *L'Histoire des corporations de métiers depuis leurs origines jusqu'à leur suppression en 1791*, p. 277.

²⁵ Levasseur, *Classes Ouvrières*, p. 37.

Until 1533 the great variety of moneys proved a real impediment. Under Francis I a reform was instituted. The standard in the sixteenth century in France was the *livre tournois* (20 sous, = 60 cents). It was not a piece of money but a value, or representation of a quantity of precious metal, varying from 98 grams of silver under St. Louis to 11 under Henry IV. Avenel considers the *livre tournois* of 1561 to 1572 equivalent to 3 francs 11 centimes, or 9 francs 30 today. Levasseur estimates it for the same period at 4 francs 84. In contrast to the *livre* of value was the gold coin, *écu d'or*, equivalent to exactly two *livres* in 1561, and varying during the wars of religion from 1 *livre* 16 sous to 2 *livres* 5. The extensive trade with England served to circulate the gold crown of 51 francs *tournois* and the "rose" nobles of 6 francs 12 sous.

silver from the churches to be brought there, while coins were struck from sacred vases and relics, and cannon were cast from church clocks.²⁶ At the outbreak of the first civil war the Protestants seemed to have plenty of money for immediate necessities, thanks to the riches of the churches of Orléans and Bourges and the Abbey of Marmoutier. The families which coined were those of Condé, Navarre, Porcien, Anjou, Nevers.²⁷ Damville, son of Montmorency, established a mint at Beziers in 1586. William of Joyeuse had mints at Toulouse and Narbonne. After their acceptance of Protestantism, the people of Montalban made their own money. When Sommerive, governor of Provence, drove the Protestants from his district, he found many new coins serving as money.²⁸ Many nobles, recent professors of the reform, were minting in their castles by the time of the close of the first war of religion.

Naturally the Protestants were no longer obliged to pay Papal or other foreign tribute. This released a magnificent sum for the home treasury. It is related by the Venetian ambassador in 1560 that the amount of money sent by France to Geneva was incredible.²⁹ Moreover, it was a superfluous requirement of the edict of January (1562) that any raising of money among the Huguenots was to be wholly voluntary and not in the form of assessment or imposition. Calvin never had to urge voluntary giving upon the French Protestants, who numbered, according to the estimate of Montesquieu in 1560, half a million out of a population of twenty millions.³⁰

"Of the 17 departments contributing the deniers of the king, only three are free, while the others are in the hands

²⁶ Lettenhove, *Les Huguenots et les Guex*. 6 vols., Bruges, 1885; vol. i, p. 75. Weill, *Le théories sur le pouvoir royal en France pendant les guerres de religion*. Paris, 1892, p. 107.

²⁷ Tobiesen Duby, *Monnaies des Prélats et des Barons de France*. 2 vols.; vol. i, p. 329.

²⁸ Ruffi, *Histoire de la ville de Marseille*. 2 vols., Marseille, 1696; vol. i, p. 338.

²⁹ *Relation des ambassadeurs venetiens*, p. 413.

³⁰ Montesquieu, *Esprit des Lois*. 2 vols., Geneva, 1748; vol. i, ch. xxiii; De la Barré-Duparcq, *Histoire de Henri II*, p. 55.

of the Huguenots or useless on account of obstacles in the highways," wrote the Catholic bishop of St. Croix, on June 1, 1562.³¹ The Protestants let no money pass from the provinces under their control, even destroying the government registers in the towns which they took. Chantonnay, the Spanish ambassador, shrewdly commented that if the Roman Catholics were as active in this manner they would be better off.³² In some quarters provisions were obtained by forced contributions from the Catholics. The Huguenots intercepted a portion of the dauphin's revenues, which accrued mainly from two widely separated provinces, Dauphiny and Brittany. The latter contributed 520,000 francs yearly. The gabelle of 50,000 crowns on salt and other royal rights in Rouen and Dieppe were diverted when those towns openly declared for Calvin. One writer claims that "Huguenots or robbers" intercepted 13,000 écus d'or sent by Philip to Catherine from Flanders in February, 1563.³³ Loans from Catholic Germany, Tuscany and Venice were also appropriated, evoking vitriolic denunciation from the Guises. One arrogant measure led to retaliatory tactics on the part of the Protestants. An arrêt of Parlement of August 5, 1562, ordered that "arrears of rents belonging to rebels shall not be paid them."³⁴ In answer to this decree Condé seized upon government receipts from the gabelle and other taxes of the king in all the villages and elections controlled by the Protestants, including even the moneys of the royal domain and revenues of the churches. The taille was imposed on all Huguenots in all towns under Protestant control to find money to pay the cavalry and to obtain other essentials. The priest Claude Haton confesses that the Protestants paid for everything they took (to eat); "not so with the Roman Catholics."³⁵ In contrast to the Huguenots' method, forced loans were imposed upon small mer-

³¹ St. Croix, p. 171.

³² Great Britain, K. 1497, No. 33, May 2, 1562.

³³ *Revue historique*, vol. i, p. 490.

³⁴ *Mémoires de Condé*, vol. i, p. 542.

³⁵ *Mémoires de Claude Haton*, vol. i, pp. 279, 444-5.

chants at the beginning of the second civil war, and even the peasantry were constrained to forced labor.

Financial negotiations between Elizabeth of England and the French Protestants proved tedious and disheartening. The Huguenots looked to England for a loan of 100,000 crowns, offering as security their leaders' notes, or else bonds of some of the most notable Reformed churches, as Lyons and Rouen. Guise sent Count de Roussy to England to discover Elizabeth's intentions and the military state of England.³⁶ Early in April, 1562, Condé had asked support from Elizabeth, after receiving assurances of her interest in March.³⁷ Beza remarks that if Elizabeth had said a few firm words in espousal of the Protestant cause and had expressed her firm purpose never to return to the religion of her bloody predecessor, she probably would have decided the French nobles who were wavering between the two religions. Possibly she was too much embroiled at home to be the most powerful ally the French Protestants could have. Possibly England could not break with Spain because of commerce with Holland and Flanders. Whatever the cause, she refused help to defend Rouen until too late. Two offers were presented to Condé and Coligny by the English queen. On condition that she should receive Havre, England would pay in Strasburg 70,000 crowns, besides granting three hostages to the count Palatine. Twenty days after receiving Havre 40,000 crowns were to be paid at Dieppe, and in twenty more days 30,000 crowns, to be employed by Condé upon the defense of Rouen, Dieppe, and the rest of Normandy. Havre was to be returned when Calais was restored to England and the advance of 140,000 crowns repaid. The Hampton Court Treaty of September 20, 1562, finally extracted the promise of 100,000 écus d'or from Elizabeth, who received Calais and Havre on condition of manning the latter with 3000 troops. In the last analysis, the niggardly policy of Elizabeth was fatal.³⁸

³⁶ Bèze, T. de, *Histoire ecclésiastique des Eglises Réformées*. 3 vols., Antwerp, 1580; vol. i, p. 373.

³⁷ Great Britain, Cal. St. P. For., No. 374, July 27, 1562.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 289, Feb. 12, 1562.

In further consideration of the foreign sources of revenue, it is necessary to study the Huguenot ports and cities of commerce together with the elaborate trade routes exploited by the Protestants. Rouen was considered the second town in France by the Venetian ambassador. Even in 1535, there were two hundred ships in its harbor at one time. This great Seine port flourished in spite of custom duties amounting to one-third of the trade, and was rich in its four fairs and cloth manufactures. In contrast to Bordeaux, the Norman port had much wheat for export, but little wine.³⁹ Metals and lumber were imported from England, Spain, and even Finland and Normandy; skins from Germany and Scandinavia; salt fish from England, Denmark, and Holland; wines and oil from the Italian peninsula; salt and spices from Brittany and Poitou; wines, honey, and wax from Aquitaine; almonds, pepper, and spices from Italy. The exports consisted of cloth, lumber, guano, worked iron, coal, grain, salt, and cider of pears and apples.

Dieppe traded with Spain, Portugal, and Africa, and claimed the navigator, Cousin, who touched the Amazon in 1488. Boulogne's trade was mainly with England and Antwerp. Harfleur was only a fisher village at the beginning of the sixteenth century, but in 1520 Francis I made it a seaport (Havre-de-Grâce) and forever exempted it from gabelles and tailles. Honfleur, across the bay, was noted for its fishing. St. Malo, in Brittany, did an important trading business with Spain during the sixteenth century. La Rochelle exported wine and salt. The Protestants of this port armed 29 "terre-neuviers" between August 27, 1561, and March 6, 1563.⁴⁰

Bordeaux was the greatest wine port. All countries celebrating the mass had representatives at this Garonne city. Dried fruits, grains, oils, and arms were also sent out, while wool, leather, beef, cloth, and salt were being brought in. Captain Lassalle, a Huguenot, suggested that eight warships

³⁹ Relations . . . vénétiens, vol. i, p. 45.

⁴⁰ Lehr, H., Protestants d'autrefois: vie et institutions militaires. Paris, 1901, p. 95.

be constantly kept on the Guyenne coast.⁴¹ Toulouse and Agen would supply one ship each of 500, 200, and 100 tons. The principal ports of the sixteenth century were on small rivers, the ships registering a small tonnage. Artillery, he said, could be secured from the metal clocks dismantled at Bordeaux. To guard the entrance to the large rivers, Lassel suggested a floating battery-platform holding five hundred men.

Narbonne as a port was not important after the fifteenth century, while Montpellier declined just before the period of wars of religion. Bayonne secured horses, silks, and spices from Spain. The Basques were splendid sailors, and their villages included many Huguenots. Marseilles exported wood, wine, cloth, wool, oil, carpets, saffron, soap, and iron. Her imports included spices, silks, sugar, leather, oils, wheat, ostrich plumes, and coral from Africa, and from the Levant, gum, figs, aromatics, sponges, and Cyprus wines. Orléans, inland, was a great trading center. In November, 1560, the king imposed upon the Protestant stronghold, "ce nombril du royaume," a tax of 10,000 francs⁴² and demanded 100,000 more with which to pay his troops.⁴³ The chief officials were notoriously Protestant. The reform seems to have entered particularly those towns that had an almost ecclesiastical complexion.

Dijon, on the other hand, was a great commercial town on the Savoyard frontier, with many nationalities in its working and commercial classes. The Geneva influence was paramount, and the first Protestants there came from among the artisans.

From these ports and towns were despatched the expeditions with which Coligny hoped to build a colonial empire. In Brazil, Florida, Madagascar, Canada, Africa, and the Indies, the Protestants played a preponderant part. Stu-

⁴¹ Archives historiques du département de la Gironde. 35 vols., Bordeaux, 1859 et seq.; vol. i, p. 120.

⁴² Aumale, duc D', *Histoire des Princes de Condé pendant les XVIe et XVIIe siècles*. 2 vols., Paris, 1863-4; vol. i, p. 104.

⁴³ Great Britain, Cal. St. P. For., No. 726, Nov. 18, 1560.

dents, diplomats, soldiers, doctors, merchants, and workmen, fleeing abroad to escape persecution at home, were fitting into the unselfish plans of the great Huguenot admiral. The latter had been declared judge of war and merchandise on the sea in 1549, just as commerce was making great forward strides.⁴⁴ Courts and chambers of commerce were instituted by Charles IX in 1563, at a time when customs duties were becoming a regular instrument of governmental finance and police, but influences were already at work to cripple the trade of the Huguenots. The ordinances of 1552 and 1567 prohibited the import into France of cloth of gold, silver, silk, and cloth, while the exportation of wool and "chanvre" was forbidden "without special permission of the king" (that is, of the Guises). The customs in Protestant Normandy were equivalent to one-third of the value, so that the peasants were forced to leave Picardy and Normandy on account of the imposts.⁴⁵

Protestant expeditions established spheres of influence in North America, the Indies, the Levant, north and northwest Africa, Spain, England, and Scandinavia. The religious and commercial program actuating every sincere Huguenot was simply expressed by an average draper, quoted by Laplanche:⁴⁶ "But in all affairs in which those of the religion try luck with us, I consider them brothers and good friends. I know of a good number of our trade, who before they were separated from our religion were as honest people as it is possible to find. I begin with the third estate. The merchants traffic with foreign nations, gain the friendship of kings, find out news, enterprises, and deportment of the same, and acquire experience in several things. Silver and gold come from that. While a gendarme hazards his life once in a while, the merchants risk theirs ceaselessly. The wisest and most learned in virtue and prudence were once merchants, like Solon and Plato."

So vast was the project of Coligny and his followers that

⁴⁴ Levasseur, *Commerce*, vol. i, p. 194.

⁴⁵ *Relations . . . vénétiens*, vol. i, p. 407.

⁴⁶ Laplanche, vol. ii, p. 239.

Montaigne was impelled to write: "J'ai peur que nous ayons les yeux plus grandes que le ventre, et plus de curiosité que de capacité."⁴⁷ Yet, with all this extended horizon, Africa was easily the cynosure of the Protestant advance. The Barbary states, opposite Marseilles, first appealed to the French. Two merchants of that town, Carlin Didier and Thomas Sinches, began to traffic with the coast tribes. They obtained the Sultan's consent to establish coral fisheries near the isle of Tabarca, in 1560, immediately following the treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis. They then founded an exchange station and coral fishing twelve leagues east of Bône, the "Bastion de France."⁴⁸ The coral of Algeria was known in antiquity. Ezekiel refers to it in describing the commerce of Tyre. In Rome it was worn as an amulet to keep off diseases and lightning. There had been coral fishing all during the middle ages by Christians off Algeria and Tunisia, the best species being obtainable off the rocks of Morsa-el-Kharaz.⁴⁹ By many it was preferred to the Venetian, Neapolitan, Sicilian, and Ceutan.

French merchants at Algiers imported oil and olives from Tunis; dried beef and butter from Bône; dates and garments for the Moors from Constantine; dried fruits from Numidia; cheeses from Majorca; different colored mantles from Tlemsen; gold, silver, honey, and sugar from Fez and Tetuan.⁵⁰ From Europe they introduced cloths of striking colors, carved woods and tables, silks and brocades, saffron, cottons, furs, quicksilver from Istria, iron work, and trinkets. The best medium of exchange between the Arabs and French was firearms, in which trade the Protestant element did not heed the papal bulls which forbade the sending of arms to Africa. Constantine, in north central Algeria, not finally wrested from the Arabs until 1837, was a great commercial center in the sixteenth century. It ex-

⁴⁷ Levasseur, *Commerce*, vol. i, chap. iii-iv.

⁴⁸ La Primaudaie, *La Commerce et la navigation de l'Algérie avant la conquête française*. 2 vols., Paris, 1865; vol. ii, p. 1.

⁴⁹ Boutin, *Anciennes Relations commerciales de la France avec Barbarie*. Paris, 1902, p. 285.

⁵⁰ La Primaudaie, p. 190.

ported alum, resin, figs, dates, leather, fine wood, table cloths, bed spreads, tunics, soaps, horses, perfumed woods. Gold and precious stones were brought from the famous gorge of the Rummel, which today is spanned by a bridge second in height only to that at Victoria Falls. Other native products included silk stuffs, spices, cotton, essences, arms, bernous, carpets, fruits, and tin at the same time. It is safe to say that the Protestants seldom indulged in the most lucrative of all African trades, that in slaves.

The provinces of Dauphiny and Provence sent many traders to Bougie, another Algerian coast port. This town was noted for its leather, wool, oils, and wax, but was strictly ruled by the Mohammedans. While the muezzins called from the minarets the invitation to prayer each Friday, the foreign shops had to be closed with the French inside. True to the Koran, the Moslems vexed their merchant guests as much as possible, but in spite of the law the Arabs of Bougie liked the wine from Marseilles and Bordeaux. Rigorous duties were imposed upon the merchants to the extent of one-tenth the value of exports and imports. Agreements were entered into from time to time and the Mohammedans liked the "treaties," for every renewal meant new presents. On the other hand Moorish corsairs constantly cruised off Dauphiny and Provence, on the lookout for slaves. Roman Catholic captives were preferred, for the Algerines were under the impression that the confession rendered them more faithful and obedient. Some masters even required that their slaves go to mass.⁵¹ At the same time French slaves were cheaper, for the emirs never knew when the French king might withdraw them by treaty, although the corsairs only observed the agreements when they pleased.

Mas-Latrie gives a similar list of the exports and imports of French north Africa.⁵² Slaves, salt fish, horns, leather, wheat, barks, sugar, wax, cloth, tinctoral sub-

⁵¹ La Primaudaie, p. 196.

⁵² De Mas-Latrie, *Traité de Paix et Commerce avec les Arabes au Moyen Age*, vol. i, p. 397.

stances, herbs, basket work, salt, metals, fruit, carpets, went to be sold in France. Mauretania received arms, birds-of-chase, money, perfume, mercury, hardware, wood, metal, precious metals, dyes, wines, cereals, medicines, glasses, spices, textiles, lacquer, jewels. The opportunities of the Huguenot merchants were therefore numerous and lucrative.

The foreign trade of the Protestants in France penetrated also into North and South America. Even Malaysia was visited as early as 1527.⁵³ Brazil, as we have seen, had been the site of the Protestant expedition under the traitor Villegagnon. From the stupendous territory of the Amazon the traders took skins, glassware, spices, parrots, rubber, and a splendid quality of cotton. The present French sphere of Guiana was anticipated when indigo, dyes, and pepper were obtained from the north coast of South America. The Spanish monopoly in the fabulously rich land of the Incas was threatened when the French trading vessels touched Peru and Chile, furnishing gold, salt, skins, and silver. Canada, a prolific source, was neglected during the wars except by fishers of cod and dealers in skins.

In the Levant the French political and commercial influences in Moslem states was predominant in the sixteenth century. Urged by the great Huguenot admiral, the mariners of France penetrated to the Aegean, the Black, and the Red seas. Always favored as a universal language, French vied with Arabic in the Levantine bazaars. The Lion of St. Mark of Venice and the pennants of Genoa were not better known in Greece, Turkey, the Barbary States, and the Aegean islands than the flag of France. Relations with Turkey were close. Francis I had concluded several treaties with the Sublime Porte, in order to secure his aid against Charles V of Germany. Enemies of France and Francis have maliciously hinted that had not the differences been so great, the French monarch would have embraced Islam, if only to further his political aims. The contest continued with others,⁵⁴ and it was only natural that

⁵³ Levasseur, *Commerce*, vol. i, chap. iv.

⁵⁴ Lettenhove, *Les Huguenots et les Gueux*, p. 10.

Henry II should continue to thwart the plans of Spain. The demonstration off the Naples coast by the Turks in 1558 was obviously the result of an arrangement with France, yet in the same year the treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis left out of consideration entirely the Sultan Soliman, and that ruler might well feel that he was simply a pawn in European politics. To an ambassador of Henry II, he sent this message: "Write your master that if it is difficult for old friends to become enemies it is less so for old enemies to become faithful friends."⁵⁵ The death of the king ended the official French treaties with the Porte. In 1563 a French envoy to Constantinople was four years overdue. Here was the opportunity of the Huguenots. Skillfully they emphasized to the sultan the difference between Catholics and Huguenots, between the respective foreign policies of the Guises and court favorites, and of Coligny. The admiral very probably grasped the opportunity and allayed Moslem dissatisfaction by installing French consuls of Protestant persuasion in the ports of the Levant.

French consulships to the Orient date from 1557.⁵⁶ The roots of the consular institution go back to the second half of the middle ages. In the commercial towns of Spain, France, and Italy the merchants were in the habit of appointing by election one or more of their fellow-merchants as arbitrators in commercial disputes, who were known as "Juges consuls" or "Consuls marchands."⁵⁷ After the crusades Spanish, French, and Italian merchants settled in the Levant, built factories, and introduced the institution of consuls, the merchants belonging to the same nation electing their own consul. The functions of these consuls became, moreover, gradually more extended through treaties, called "capitulations," between the home states of the merchants and the Moslem monarchs on whose territories these merchants had settled.⁵⁸ Finally the power of consuls included

⁵⁵ St. Priest, *L'ambassade de France en Turquie*, p. 42.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 282.

⁵⁷ Oppenheim, *International Law*, vol. i, p. 482.

⁵⁸ Sir Travers Twiss, *The Law of Nations*, vol. i, secs. 253-263.

the whole civil and criminal jurisdiction over, and protection of, the privileges, the life, and the property of their countrymen. The institution of consuls spread to the west during the century preceding the French religious wars. Soon after the period of Coligny permanent legations were responsible for the decline of the importance of the consular office. In European states the functions of the latter now shrank into supervision of the commerce and navigation of their home countries. In Mohammedan states, however, consuls not only retained their original jurisdiction, but by treaties and custom secured exterritoriality, inviolability, ceremonial honors, and miscellaneous rights. Their position in non-Christian states was from every angle exceptional, not agreeing with early or modern principles of international law otherwise universally acknowledged. This was naturally necessary since the ideas of justice of Moslem states were far from approximating the Christian ideas; the foreigner's life, honor, and goods were constantly in jeopardy without the intervention of the consul in the native courts.

In 1568 Bodin wrote: "French merchants have shops at Alexandria, Cairo, Beirut, Tripoli, and are credited at Fez and Morocco the same as Spaniards."⁵⁹ The Barbary States and Egypt comprised only a portion of the Mohammedan market exploited by the Protestants under the surveillance of Coligny. The rich field of Asia Minor was entered from the north through the Black Sea ports of Trebizond and Samsun, from the west through the commodious harbor of Smyrna, from the south by way of Adalia, Tarsus, and Mersina. From the days of the crusaders French merchants had frequented the bazaars of Damascus, the oldest city in the world. The elaborate products of Syria were exchanged for French wheat, salt, fish, wool, cloth, and wines. From Cyprus the western sailors took the wines of Famagusta. The Aegean islands of Lemnos, Mitylene, Chios, Samos, and Rhodes were regular ports of call. The

⁵⁹ Levasseur, *Commerce*, vol. i, p. 204.

Turkish lands of the Mediterranean border supplied the Protestants with Damascene blades, steel, granulated metals, brass, iron, wire, flint, tinplate, and white lead—all valuable assets in the wars of religion. The Huguenot vessels also imported from the Levant needles, Angora camlets, crockery, spikenard, verdigris, ambergris, quicksilver, cork, quinquina, tartar, tutty, spirits, furs, linen, cloth, dyed woods, camphor, tortoise shell, syrup, coralwork, almonds, and plums.⁶⁰

Not only the Mediterranean border of Africa, but the remoter parts as well formed a magnet for the early Protestants. Ten years after Luther nailed up the theses at Wittenburg we find record of the French at Madagascar, which now belongs to France. Even at Sumatra and other smaller islands of the Malaysian archipelago there were French mariners only thirty-five years after the discovery of America. As the result of the foresight and expansion policy of Coligny, France in 1915 has in Africa one of the mightiest empires of any age. The French sailor-merchants exploited not only the north coast, from Morocco to Egypt, but the Protestants soon pressed beyond the fringe. Cape Town, 6000 miles from Tunis, and the 4000-mile east-to-west parallel between Capes Guardafui and Verde were soon charted by the aides of Coligny. The magnificent distances attempted by the explorers and traders would have terrified their fellows in France. Consider the broad northern half of the supercontinent. The traveler mounts a mehari camel, from time immemorial the "desert express." The day's journey will average fifty miles. Six weeks are spent on the trip from Algiers due south to the mouth of the Niger. Eight weeks are consumed in the journey from the town of Dakar, at Cape Verde, the westernmost point of the continent, due east to the western edge of Darfur, the extreme boundary of the Egyptian Sudan. The trade route from Tangier, opposite Gibraltar, southeast to Ubanghi-Shari, the very center of the continent, can not be traveled in less than

⁶⁰ St. Priest, p. 327.

sixty-two days, though equivalent to the distance from New York to Seattle. Huge kingdoms of the Sudan awaited in 1560, as now, a mercantile wedge. To the uninitiated it is staggering to know that the area of the ten primary Sudanese divisions extends over two million square miles. Beginning in the east we find Kordofan, the size of England; Darfur, of France; Wadai, of Italy and Ireland; Bagirmi, of Spain; Kanem, of Greece and Denmark; Adamawa, of European Turkey; Bornu, of Portugal; Sokoto, of Japan; Gando, of Scotland and Ireland; Nupe, of Bulgaria.⁶¹ Fate decreed that the Huguenots, exiles from their home shores, should lay the foundation of an enormous colonial domain in Africa. Today the Sahara is a French sphere, as large as the United States of America. Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia are equivalent to the Middle and South Atlantic states, besides Ohio and Kentucky. The last named state is only one-twenty-fifth the size of French West Africa. The French Congo is eight times as large as Illinois, while two states like Michigan could be carved from the Ivory coast.

What were the incentives to trade in territory which even three and a half centuries after Condé and Coligny is entitled the "Dark Continent"? To enumerate exports from France to west and central Africa would be to reiterate the list of staples which the Huguenots carried to all lands of the Mediterranean basin and north Europe. The gold of Ophir and the lure of Ethiopia and Abyssinia, the possible home of the queen of Sheba, were powerful attractions. Moreover, the ostracized Protestants had very real ideas of revivifying the remnant of the Christian church along the north and northeast borders of Africa. In the year 200 nine hundred churches had flourished along the African margins of the Red and Mediterranean Seas. Even Arabia as far as Muscat was inoculated with the new doctrine. Meropius, a Tyrian savant, was responsible in 320 for the penetration of Christianity into Abyssinia, which today most

⁶¹ H. Karl W. Kumm, *The Sudan*, London, 1907, p. 63.

distinctly of any African kingdom reveals traces of that pioneer effort in the form of the Coptic church.⁶² The dominion of Mohammed rose in the seventh century, and the native churches, without the bulwark of a gospel in the vernacular, speedily succumbed before the Koran and the sword of Islam. The Coptic elements in Algeria, Egypt, Nubia, and Abyssinia formed the nucleus around which the Huguenots hoped to build strong Protestant communities.

For the moment, however, we are more concerned with their mercantile prowess. Levasseur says that the French went to the Guinea coast for powder of gold, ivory, and gums.⁶³ Senegambia and the fertile Sudanese kingdoms contributed then, as now, a wealth of vegetable products to the mother country. Maize, said by Santa Rosa de Viterbo to have been introduced by the Arabs into Spain in the thirteenth century and thence by slave dealers into West Africa, grew to the height of five or six feet. From it the natives baked bread and brewed a kind of sour beer. Millet, one of the earliest bread-making grains known, has always been a tropical African product. Cultivated and "hunger" rice was exported from equatorial Africa. According to a statement contained in a manuscript belonging to the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, the use of coffee was known at a period so remote as 875 A. D. A parchment of 1566 credited to an Arab sheik stated that a knowledge of coffee was first brought into Arabia from Abyssinia about the beginning of the fifteenth century. The Moslems of Arabia and West Africa were not unanimously in favor of the new beverage. Many used it as an antisoporific during the strenuous abnegation of the annual month of Ramadan. Others held it to be an intoxicant, and in consequence a violation of the Koran. The priests were fiercely hostile because the coffee-houses exerted a depressing influence upon attendance at the mosques. The coffee bought by the French in the western Sudan was the equal of the Javanese

⁶² Frederic Perry Noble, *The Redemption of Africa*, vol. i, p. 25.

⁶³ Levasseur, *Commerce*, vol. i, p. 208.

and Cingalese brands, and second only to the famous Mocha of the Arabian Yemen.

Cotton has grown wild in the Sudan for many centuries. Arab slave dealers introduced it from India, where it had been used in domestic manufactures five centuries before the Christian era, into Egypt and then West Africa. In 1560 Guicciardini, in a very full list which he gives of the different articles annually imported into and exported from Antwerp, then the greatest commercial mart in Europe, mentions cottons among the goods obtained from Venice and Genoa. Their sailors had brought it from Africa and Arabia. We know that Protestant refugees from France carried cotton manufacture to England at the close of the sixteenth century. The Huguenot traders found in Africa the leading species of cotton, and the French Protestants became admittedly leaders in the European cloth industry. Their best African cotton was obtained from the region of Lake Chad.

Guinea corn, one of the Sudanese staples, was sent to France after the December harvests. Ground nuts were cultivated everywhere and exported to France with and without the husks. The oils extracted from them took the place of olive oil, though the latter had been introduced into all Africa from Palestine in Biblical times. The chief condiment which contributed to the characteristic gastronomy of France was pepper. Ashanti pepper, although bearing the name of the Gold Coast colony, has always occurred most abundantly in the country of the Niam-Niam ("great eaters"), a more or less cannibal race in north central Africa. This brand differs from black pepper in being smaller and less wrinkled, but has the same pungency, due to a resin. It was imported from the Grain Coast (modern Liberia and Sierra Leone) by merchants of Rouen and Dieppe—later two strongly Protestant towns—as early as 1364. Ebony wood was another article of export to France, as it was to the Orient in the days of Herodotus.⁶⁴

⁶⁴ Herodotus, Bk. iii, chap. 97.

Two other commodities which were taken from Africa by the Protestant sailors were rubber and palm oil. Twenty-one varieties of trees are available in the Sudan from which rubber can be obtained,⁶⁵ and some have always abounded in tropical Africa, particularly in the Senegal and Congo basins. The product was already known for Herrera, on the second trip with Columbus, mentions it in Hayti,⁶⁶ while Torquemada in a work of 1615 describes the trees found in Mexico.⁶⁷ Oil from the palms of French Madagascar and West Africa must have been sent to the mother country at an early date. For centuries the utility of palms to inhabitants of the tropics had been noteworthy. They furnished shelter, clothing, food, fiber, sugar, timber, fuel, building material, dyes, starch, oil, wax, wine, resin, and many minor products.

The oldest trade routes in Africa were created for traffic in salt. Herodotus tells us of the caravan trails connecting the salt oases of the Libyan desert.⁶⁸ In the time of Coligny, twenty centuries later, and even today, the Sahara caravan trade is largely a traffic in that product. In 1560 the Protestants who entered the Sudan and eastern Africa found cakes of salt being used as currency, just as it had been in Abyssinia in the days of Marco Polo. One writer states that in Timbuctoo and Kano, in 1560, a camel load of salt (200 kilograms) was worth eighty-four ducats.⁶⁹ Timbuctoo, over a thousand miles from the Atlantic by way of the Senegal and Niger systems, was at the converging point of the main trade routes from the Gulf of Guinea and from the Mediterranean across the western Sahara. The Huguenots sent out by Coligny traded at Timbuctoo at a time when it was the capital of the short lived Sonrhai empire and the chief centre of Moslem culture for the nations of the western Sudan. Salt was the great staple of

⁶⁵ Kumm, p. 166.

⁶⁶ Herrera, *Historia*, Bk. iii, chap. iv.

⁶⁷ Torquemada, *De la Monarquía Indiana*. Madrid, 1723; vol. ii, p. 663.

⁶⁸ Herodotus, Bk. iv, chap. 181.

⁶⁹ La Primaudaie, p. 196.

trade. With this commodity and cowry shells, an ancient and modern African currency, the natives secured products of European manufacture. Salt was always welcomed by the French Protestants, for the home supplies of the Vosges and the Pyrenees were dominated by the Roman Catholic Guises of Lorraine and by Philip of Spain, respectively. Kano, the other important Sudanese trade centre, lay eight hundred miles by caravan route southeast of Timbuctoo, and half that distance west of Lake Chad.

Of French trade with European nations in the middle of the sixteenth century the most significant part was with Spain. Besides Castile, Aragon, Navarre, Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, Milanais, Roussillon and Franche-Comté, and the Netherlands, Spain had under its jurisdiction Oran, the islands of Madeira, Canary, St. Helena, Fernando Po, and Anno Bom; Mexico, Peru, New Grenada, Chile, Paraguay, Cuba, la Plata, Domingo, Martinique, Guadalope, Jamaica, and the Philippines. In 1557 France and Spain were the two great powers of the age: France excelled in land forces, while Spain boasted the larger navy.⁷⁰ Then, on St. Lawrence's Day, 1557, the town of St. Quentin was captured by the Spainards, and the event commemorated by the inception of the gloomy and labyrinthian palace of the Escorial, outside Madrid. The capture of St. Quentin opened for France a period of forty years subserviency to Spain.⁷¹ Many patriots excoriated the signers of the humiliating treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis, concluded in 1559. By the terms of peace Francis gave Marienbourg, Thionville, Damvilliers, and Montmédy in exchange for St. Quentin, Ham, Catelet, and Therouanne. It gave without price Bouvigny and Bouillon to the bishop of Liège, while Spain retained Hesdin. In Italy, France evacuated Milanais, Montferrat, Corsica, Montalcino, Sienna, Savoy, Bresse, Bugey, and all of Piedmont except five towns.⁷² Calais remained French.

⁷⁰ Baschet, *La diplomatie vénétienne*, p. 238.

⁷¹ Whitehead, *Gaspard de Coligny*. London, 1904, p. 61.

⁷² Ruble, Baron de, *Traité de Cateau-Cambrésis*. Paris, 1889, pp. 27, 196.

Another stipulation was that Philip and Henry II should obtain from the Pope the convocation of a universal council. This was to crush them, said the Protestants.

In spite of the new subservience of France to her neighbor, Spain offered a very promising field for Huguenot trade. The decadence of agriculture and industry in Spain and Portugal was marked. Farming declined on account of decreasing population, devastation by troops, and the emigration caused by the inquisition. For example, in 1553 the kingdom of Navarre had but 154,000 inhabitants.⁷³ The decay of industry was attributable to the high price of work, increased imports, the prohibition against selling manufactures abroad, the prejudice against the mechanical arts, and most of all, to the new infusion of wealth from the colonies. Galleons of Philip II made him the richest in gold of any monarch, but he left the crown charged with debts and embarrassed in a thousand ways.⁷⁴ The new influx of gold and silver had made Spain neglect her ancient industries. Portugal was so enervated from the same cause that the kingdom, far from profiting by the sacrifices of Vasco de Gama and Albuquerque, actually was annexed by Philip in 1580. Moreover, the disastrous expedition led by the duke of Medina-Coeli against Dragut in North Africa in 1559, the year of the first war of religion in France, exerted a depressing effect upon Spanish industry. Into this new field flocked many French workmen, especially from Auvergne and Limousin. The fact that numbers of the best artisans of France, the Huguenots, fled abroad to escape persecution, did not deter them from venturing into the home of the Inquisition. In Aragon and Navarre nearly all the carpenters, turners, stonecutters, masons, vinedressers, drivers, saddlers, rope-makers, harness-makers, and wheelwrights were French.⁷⁵ The Moors had introduced into Spain silk, rice, cotton and sugar, while their canals for

⁷³ Weiss, *L'Espagne depuis la règne de Philippe II*, vol. i, p. 21.

⁷⁴ Baschet, *Diplomatie*, p. 238.

⁷⁵ Levasseur, *Commerce*, vol. i, p. 208.

inland trade antedated those in France constructed under the direction of da Vinci. Much of the cotton, olive oil, oranges, almonds, dried grapes, spices, confitures exported to Bordeaux, Bayonne, and Toulouse by Spain was prepared by Frenchmen. Spain procured wheat, salt meat, pastel, linen, wool, paper, and hardware from France.⁷⁶ Carcassone and Perpignan furnished fine cloths. Spanish silks ceased to figure in the French importations about 1560.

France had been tributary to Venice for glass and cloth. To the cloth of Tuscany, however, succeeded that of Languedoc, Picardy, and Normandy. All that France had to oppose to Italian, Spanish, and Flemish industries at the beginning of the sixteenth century were some silk factories at Lyons, Nîmes, and Tours; glass factories at Argonne and in Burgundy and Agenois; fine sculptured furniture at Paris, Rouen, and Tours; and admirable enamels at Limoges.⁷⁷ Her artists were rivals of the Italians in the trade without being their equals. In 1500 there were no industrial workmen comparable to those at Rome, Florence, Milan, and Venice. By 1560 the Huguenot artisans would have to be included in this category. Paris had approached Venice in printing with eight hundred publishing houses while Lyons boasted quite as many. Silk and glass factories were being founded at Lyons.⁷⁸ Although their country was to be dependent upon Italy for many years for scarlet cloth and articles de luxe, the French dyers turned out 600,000 pieces in 1560.

Flanders sent to the Huguenots armor, trappings, cotton, serges, linen, carpets, morocco leather, and lace.⁷⁹ Alsace-Lorraine, just as today, traded more with France than beyond the Rhine. The formidable Protestant cavalry depended upon Germany and the Low Countries for war steeds. The latter country exported a tremendous amount of salt herrings to France. French wine-casks filled with

⁷⁶ Levasseur, *Commerce*, vol. i, p. 208.

⁷⁷ Pigeonneau, vol. ii, p. 57.

⁷⁸ Baudrillart, *Luxe*, vol. iii, p. 440.

⁷⁹ Levasseur, *Commerce*, p. 205.

Bibles, arms, and gold were smuggled from Switzerland through Catholic provinces. The three Scandinavian kingdoms bought from their French co-religionists safran, salt, pastel, and wine. Linen cloth, wine, and dried prunes were included in French exports to the British Isles.

The politics of protection in France became clearly defined for the first time about 1560, and Protestant manufactures and skilled labor were efficacious in emancipating France from industrial dependence upon foreign countries. At the outbreak of the first war of religion there was a sensible decline in importations. By 1560 the government realized that new sumptuary laws should accompany the new policy of protection. In the reign of Henry II pride in all the estates grew with the acquisition of wealth. The love for luxury created by the Renaissance did not harmonize with the economic straits described in a previous chapter. Villagers wished to dress like townsmen, the latter like gentlemen, and so on. At the epoch of the religious wars, it was lamented that the villagers wore colored cloths and sumptuous habits, instead of dressing according "to their degree of laborers and vine-trimmers."⁸⁰ Taxes might wait, as long as their tables contained many varieties of viands and fowl. "The laborer wants to make a gentleman of his son," wrote Palissy. Accordingly, the government made luxuries no less burdensome than imports. An ordinance of 1561 forbade under penalty of fine all foreign perfumes, and gilding on lead, iron, wood, enamels or jewelry. A rule of April, 1561, dealt with embroideries, lace, and silk robes. The ordinance of January, 1563, prohibited the wearing of vertegrades of more than one ell,⁸¹ while one of 1567 forbade garments of velvet and silks and the use of pearls, unless in bracelets, by the bourgeois.⁸² There was a rapid succession of eight sumptuary laws between 1543 and 1570.

The effect of piracy upon the Huguenot trade remains

⁸⁰ Baudrillart, *Luxe*, vol. iii, p. 248.

⁸¹ 54 inches in France.

⁸² Pigeonneau, vol. ii, p. 173.

to be examined. By treaty of 1535 France secured from the Porte exclusive rights to coral and deepsea fishing off the Moslem coasts. The half dozen articles referred to individual liberty and responsibility, religious liberty and protection, inviolability of domicile, exemption from all taxes, and interdiction from slavery. It is almost superfluous to state that the Barbary corsairs observed the treaties only as they pleased. Protestant mariners did not suffer as much as Catholic, for the pirates in their quest for slaves were imbued with the notion that the religion of Rome and faithful servants were synonymous. But trade in the Mediterranean was not as badly paralyzed as in the seas of Flanders, France, and England. During the second period of the religious wars the sea was no safer than the land. Possibly on account of a tacit agreement, there were few examples of the civil conflict of French vessels at sea. Rather did the corsairs of La Rochelle attack Spanish and Portuguese boats, while the vessels of Brittany preyed on English commerce. The thousands of piratical acts did not cease until the treaty of Troyes of April 11, 1564, whereby England accepted 120,000 gold crowns for Havre.⁸³ On French soil the Hundred Years' War was being reproduced by the Spanish and German soldiers of Philip and Guise.

⁸³ Ruble, *Traité de Cateau-Cambrésis*, pp. 193-194.

CHAPTER III

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE CALVINISTS

The ecclesiastical and political organizations of Calvinism were identical. The unit of each was the congregation. The neighboring churches or congregations were grouped according to number and convenience into colloquies, or classes, which met from two to four times each year. The colloquies of each province comprised the "Synods," while the national synod¹ was composed of all the provinces. The congregations, synods, and colloquies constituted both taxation units and military "cadres."² The temple was the center of the Protestant community, but unfortunately none of these are extant and they live only in descriptions. The most elaborate example of Huguenot edifices was the sumptuous temple erected by Coligny at Dieppe. Reared in two months as a facsimile of the Coliseum it took Vieilleville three days and nights to demolish it.³

The grand lines of political division followed the historic provincial boundaries of France, although smaller provinces and parts of the larger ones, such as Languedoc and Guyenne, were associated. The first national synod convening in Paris in 1559, divided France into 16 Protestant provinces,⁴ but this administrative partition was effective for

¹ Discipline of Reformed churches in France Received and Enacted by their First National Synod at Paris in 1554, chap. 7, publ. in Quick, *Synodicon in Gallia reformatata*, 2 vols., London, 1682.

² Relations . . . vénétiens, vol. ii, p. 115.

³ Floquet, *Histoire du Parlement de Normandie*, 7 vols., Rouen, 1840-49; vol. ii, p. 331.

⁴ The Protestant provinces of France were as follows: (1) Ile-de-France, Chartrain, Picardy, Champagne, Brie; (2) Normandy; (3) Brittany; (4) Berry, Orléans, Dunois, Blésois, Nivernais, Bourbonnais, La Manche; (5) Anjou, Touraine, Loudunois, Maine, Vendôme, Perche; (6) Upper and Lower Poitou; (7) Saintonge, Aunis, La Rochelle, Angoumois; (8) Lower Guyenne, Périgord, Gascony, Limousin; (9) Upper and Lower Vivarais, Velay and Le Fôret;

only four years, however, for the first civil war demonstrated the weakness of the system. Several of the provinces contained too few Protestants, so in 1563 the map was charted into nine ecclesiastical divisions. Brittany added Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, formerly an independent province. Chartrain was detached from Ile-de-France and annexed to Orléans. All the country watered by the Charente was knitted together by combining Upper and Lower Poitou with Saintonge, Aunis, and Angoumois. The Burgundian division absorbed the small province of Vivarais. The most interesting consolidation occurred in the south of France where the formation of the huge province of Languedoc entailed the obliteration of the former divisions of Provence, Dauphiny, and the Cevennes. The only original ones unchanged were Normandy, Béarn, and Lower Guyenne. After all eliminations, the sixteen geographical divisions were reduced to nine: (1) Ile-de-France; (2) Normandy; (3) Brittany; (4) Orléans; (5) Poitou-Saintonge; (6) Lower Guyenne; (7) Languedoc; (8) Burgundy; (9) Béarn.

The official beginning of the Protestant church occurred at Orléans, in 1557. The center of France, with its great commercial towns, enjoying almost unlimited municipal privileges, had been in the habit of governing itself, and had frequently manifested almost republican tendencies. It was to be expected, therefore, that Orléans, the Protestant "nombril de royaume," would be among the first to adopt the machinery of Calvin's admirable institution, still a model today—the democratic republic. Near the close of the year 1558, fifteen months after the constitution of the church at Orléans, several pastors at Poitiers were the first to speak of the utility of a conference of faith and discipline. Accordingly, the first National Synod of these Protestants

(10) Lower Languedoc, including Nîmes, Montpellier and Beziers; (11) Upper Languedoc, Upper Guyenne, Armagnac, and Upper Auvergne, Toulouse, Carcassone, Quercy, Rouergue; (12) Burgundy, Lyonnais, Beaujolais, Bresse, Gex, Lower Auvergne; (13) Provence; (14) Dauphiny and Orange; (15) Béarn; (16) Cevennes and Gevaudan. Discipline, chap. 8, canon 15.

convened at Paris May 26, 1559.⁵ At this constituent assembly, under the direction of Morel, the Ecclesiastical Discipline and the Confession of Faith were prepared,⁶ but only eleven churches were represented at the Faubourg St. Germain, so perilous were the times.⁷ Delegates from only six of the sixteen ecclesiastical divisions constituted at the same synod were successful in reaching Catholic Paris in time to fulfill their double mission of establishing a discipline and adopting a confession of faith. Pursuant to the desires of their constituencies, pastoral and lay delegates of Paris, Orléans, Dieppe, St. Lô, Angers, Tours, Chatellerault, Poitiers, Saintes, St. Jean d'Angely, and Morennes transacted the business of the First National Synod.

Each province established a synod which named deputies to the national synod, in which twice a year all ministers of the provinces assisted. Colloquies of pastors and deacons were also held. Consistories, or particular counsels, charged with watching the behavior in each church comprised four elders, two deacons, a secretary, and a treasurer. The western provinces of Angoumois, Aunis and Saintonge were among the pioneers in establishing the synod. In church matters no church had any primacy or jurisdiction over another.⁸ Ministers brought with them to local colloquies or provincial synods one or two elders chosen from their consistories.⁹ Elders who were deputies of churches had an equal power of voting with the pastors.¹⁰ The authority of a provincial synod was subordinate to that of the national synod, and whatever had been decreed by provincial synods for the government of churches in their province had to be brought before the national synod.¹¹

⁵ Crottet, *Histoire des Eglises Réformées en Saintonge*. Bordeaux, 1843, p. 36.

⁶ de Bèze, *Histoire ecclésiastique des Eglises Réformées*, vol. i, pp. 201-220.

⁷ Bersier, Eugène, *Coligny avant les Guerres de Religion*. Paris, 1884, p. 150.

⁸ Quick, chap. 6, canon 1.

⁹ *Ibid.*, chap. 8, canon 2.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, chap. 8, canon 8.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, chap. 8, canons 9, 14.

One of the few sidelights upon early ecclesiastical organization is the order on distribution of alms of the Protestant church of Paris to the poor of that city.¹² Under date of December 10, 1561, are six provisions: (1) there shall be a bureau of eight notable citizens, assisted by four inspectors from the consistory (changed monthly) and deacons; (2) the said bureau shall be elected by the people before the service; (3) for alms there shall be twelve boxes, with a key; (4) deacons, six each from the town and university, shall pass the boxes at each service; (6) no other clerks shall officiate besides the eight citizens, the deacons, and the inspector.

The administration of the sacrament was gratuitous in practically all of the 2150 Protestant churches of 1560. In the Parisian faubourgs, however, the rich and the poor were expected to pay twenty and seven sols, respectively, at the communion of the Lord's Supper, the sum to be employed for the needs of the new religion.¹³ A prohibition was the rejoinder of Antoine of Bourbon, King of Navarre, who claimed that the money should go for war and threatened to hang the Calvinist pastors.

The strong elements in the Protestant organization were its simplicity and the universal vigilance, from provincial chiefs to simple pastors. In 1559 Correro, Venetian ambassador at the court of Henry II, wrote to the Doge: "If our priests were half so energetic, of a certainty christianity would be in no danger in this country."¹⁴ A slight digression may suffice to impress the startling contrast between the priest and the pastor of 1559.

Indictments of the clergy of the state church were not confined to one sect. "Isn't it a very ridiculous thing," asked Chancellor Jean Gerson of the ultra-Catholic University of Paris, "that a simoniacal, avaricious, lying, exacting, lewd, proud, pompous father, in a word, a demon, pretends to have the power to unite and disunite heaven and

¹² Condé, vol. ii, p. 535.

¹³ St. Croix, p. 121; March 31, 1562.

¹⁴ Relations . . . vénétiens, vol. ii, p. 115.

earth?"¹⁵ Claude Haton cites a piece of verse found upon a Roman Catholic priest in Mount St. Victor: "Notre prescheur, au lieu de prescher l'Evangile, ne fait rien que rotter l'aspre guerre civile. Feu ardent, sang humain son estomac vomit."¹⁶ The rabidly anti-Calvinist Parlement of Paris found it necessary in August, 1560, to issue a decree ordering all bishops and curates to reside at their churches, the former being prohibited from henceforth proceeding in the matter of religion against anyone except Calvinist preachers or persons in whose houses Huguenot meetings were held.¹⁷ One historian, commenting upon his own church, recorded that "until the end of the war the benefices were filled with soldiers, laymen, male and female favorites. There were households in the bishops' houses and even in the abbeys." The clergy often stooped to distortion of the truth. The Jesuits and mendicant friars diffused the rumor that Calvinists had confessed to eating children.¹⁸ Pamphlets disseminated among the credulous vague reports of the strangling by the heretics of old men and women.¹⁹ Catholicism was the highest form of faith, for consider "their great men for the past 1600 years." What verdict is rendered by the two representative Protestant historians, Laplanche and Condé? The former calls it the duty of the king to correct the abuses of the priests, the most unlearned and rude since Christ's time, "though some of them studied 20 years." They were "rich, poor in spirit, revelling day and night."²⁰ Their mercenary spirit led them to charge eight écus for baptisms, to sell pardons and absolutions, and even prayers and cemetery lots. Ten livres was a funeral fee. They were perfumed like priests of Venus while their homes vied with courtiers'. Condé records that as many as nine

¹⁵ Henne, *Histoire du règne de Charles V. en Belgique*. 10 vols., Brussels and Leipzig, 1858; vol. iv, p. 275.

¹⁶ Haton, vol. i, p. 157; Bibl. Imperiale (Paris) MS., No. 359.

¹⁷ Baudrillart, Alfred, *L'Eglise Catholique, la Renaissance, le Protestantisme*. London, 1908, p. 124.

¹⁸ Castelnau, *Mémoires*, 1559-70, p. 20.

¹⁹ Capefigue, *Histoire de la Réforme, de la Ligue, et du Règne de Henri IV*, vol. ii, p. 99.

²⁰ Laplanche, vol. ii, p. 66.

dimes (tithes) were extracted from the people in one year for church and government expenses. "The priests speak only of dimes." On August 23, 1560, the same historian witnessed that there were "forty lazy bishops in Paris" instead of in their dioceses.²¹ They had sold their benefices to "cooks, barbers, and lackeys." The priests were hateful to the people on account of their debauchery, greed, and ignorance. The edict of July, a sop to the priests, was anachronistic and absurd, for at a critical juncture it had re-enacted several severe penalties against conventicles. In July, 1561, the prelates broke the rule of Philip le Long, passed in 1319, that ecclesiastics should not enter the Council or Parlement.²² An ordinance of the king of April 22, 1561, held that ecclesiastics should dress modestly, discarding silks and other superfluous luxuries.²³ So ludicrous were the dress and actions of many of the clergy that the young son of Queen Catherine actually gave a masquerade on November 15, 1561, in which he appeared in a mitre. The bishop of St. Croix in his memoirs deplores the ridicule thus heaped upon the clergy.²⁴

In vivid contrast to that portion of the ecclesiastics were those priests who wavered for a time between the two currents of Protestantism and Catholicism. It is well known that the Reform was often the work of the Roman clergy. Suspected of heresy as early as 1542 the convent of the Cordeliers provoked public censure from the ultra-Catholic Sorbonne in 1540. Such types were exceptionally superior to the rank and file of the clergy of 1560.

The mental and moral preparation of the Protestant preacher was very thorough. Examination before the colloquy preceded the election of pastors, three of the seven examiners being from the candidate's home synod.²⁵ There being no age limit, youths of nineteen and twenty years be-

²¹ Condé, vol. i, p. 542.

²² Ibid., vol. ii, p. 342.

²³ Ibid., vol. ii, p. 343.

²⁴ St. Croix, p. 5.

²⁵ Félice, Paul de, *Les Protestants d'autrefois, vie intérieure des églises, moeurs et usages*. Paris, 1898, p. 2.

came eligible. Within forty-eight hours the candidate must prepare two sermons, in French and Latin; besides, there were three trial sermons at his future church. Ministers were assigned to special churches.²⁶ These were erected upon one principle—seat the most in the least space. For this reason there were no lateral chapels.²⁷ In the Huguenot temples there were no images or crosses, no pew rents. The consistory building, sometimes used for teaching, stood about one hundred feet from the temple, behind which was the cemetery. Communion was celebrated eight times a year. As to outward appearance, the Protestant ministers usually wore long beards; not a singularity, for, although the Sorbonne decided against beards in the Roman church, in 1561, even the popes did not shave. Beards in other lines of life were attacked by the press.²⁸

With no tribute to pay to Rome, and gratuitous administration of the sacraments, the Protestants could found schools and hospitals. This was not a new idea, but Luther was the first to organize schools for the people.²⁹ They were the logical consequence of the fundamentals of the Reform. The Calvinist theory of education was, however, in advance of the age. The Protestant nobles of the States-General of 1560 asked the King to levy contributions on church revenues for reasonable support of teachers in every town for the instruction of the needy youth, and, moreover, to require all parents under penalty to send their children to school. The demands of the nobility were not regarded and there was a long eclipse in the cause of public primary instruction. The primary school is the child of Protestantism which associated knowledge with faith.

The "petits écoles" of 1559 were very numerous, although there is little account thereof.³⁰ They were the equivalent

²⁶ Félice, *Vie interieure*, p. 13.

²⁷ Félice, *Les Protestants d'autrefois: les temples*. Paris, 1896, vol. i, p. 121.

²⁸ Quicherat, J., *Histoire du Costume en France*. Paris, 1875, p. 369.

²⁹ Compayré, Gabriel, *Histoire critique des Doctrines de l'Educaton en France depuis le 16e siècle*, p. 113.

³⁰ Félice, *Vie intérieure*, p. 87.

of the modern primary schools. Childhood, said the Calvinist, is like an empty vase, in that it conserves the odor of the first liquid poured in it. At the baptism, in the temple, a Biblical rather than a classical name was conferred upon the infant. At the age of five, the child became familiar with Beza's *Petit Cathechism*, and began to memorize. At eight, there were four hours of Latin daily; at nine, arithmetic; at ten, history, taught by conventional method, and geography, with a globe; at twelve, geometry.³¹ Luther always recommended mathematical studies and was partial to history, but did not advocate the liberal arts.

There is no account of the instruction of girls, though the Reform called for it. Only private tutoring is mentioned in our period, 1559 to 1562, although as early as 1541 there were girls' schools in Geneva. There seem to have been mixed schools in France under the Reform before separate ones came into vogue. The Reform undoubtedly provoked the intellectual emancipation of sixteenth century womanhood. In the recent past there had been special trades for women, operating under royal charters, such as the making of ribbons, hats, embroideries. Widows were allowed to keep their husbands' workshops as long as they should remain widows. In the mixed trades women had less rights. Comparative salaries, says Hauser, in "*Works of Women*," were probably three-fourths of a man's pay in the fourteenth century, and about one-half in the sixteenth. In addition to the gates of industry, the portals of Protestant education were now thrown open to the women of France. There was need of this for in the middle of the sixteenth century the Jews of France were more enlightened than the Christians.

Spontaneity, free thought, and free inquiry constituted the basis of Protestantism. By its success in developing these qualities, the new religion imposed still greater efforts upon the Roman church. As is natural for innovators, the thought of the teachers of the century was marked by en-

³¹ Félice, *Vie intérieure*, p. 54.

thusiasm rather than by precision.³² They were more zealous in pointing out the end to be attained than exact in determining the means to be employed.

No account of the ecclesiastical and educational organization of the Reform would be complete without mention of the Protestant press. Printing had been introduced into France between 1483 and 1500, and Protestantism in many instances started with pamphlet reading.³³ Calvin organized the societies of colportage of Protestant books, and in Montpellier where the Reform dated from 1554, the first martyr was a colporteur.³⁴ The "paper war" found the Protestants distinguished by the fertility and prolixity of the press, for the use of which the declarations, confessions of faith, forms of prayer, protests, and the letters of Condé were principally edited by Beza, at the great literary center of Orléans.³⁵ In 1562 Beza finished Marot's psalter and during the same year twenty-six different editions of the Psalms were published by the Calvinists. Of these Geneva printed nine, Paris seven, and St. Lô one, besides five others without a name. Fourteen editions were released in 1563, with ten more in the following year.³⁶ Lyons, at the gateway to Switzerland, was the capital of printing, and nearly all its printers, especially the Germans, were favorable to the Reform. Discontented with the social state, they offered a marvelous field for Protestantism. The Protestant press threw into circulation thousands of Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, Belgian, German, Gascon, Basque, and Perigordian works.³⁷ Restrictive measures immediately appeared. Letters of the king to Parlement of August 16, 1561, forbade the printing of any work without the permission of the King and Parlement. A letter of the Catholic envoy

³² Compayré, p. 84.

³³ Buet, Charles, *L'amiral de Coligny*. Paris, 1884, p. 37.

³⁴ Corbière, *Histoire de l'Eglise réformée de Montpellier*. Montpellier, 1861, p. 10.

³⁵ Aumale, Condé, p. 107.

³⁶ Baird, H. M., *Theodore Beza*. New York and London, 1899, p. 281.

³⁷ Chasles, P., *Etudes sur le 16e siècle*, Paris, 1848, p. 219.

St. Croix, of March 26, 1562, depicts the capture by a lieutenant of the king of a barque load of books from Geneva concealed in wine casks.³⁸ It was futile, however, to attempt to check the infractions of the embargo by the constituencies of 2150 Protestant churches.

The political organization of the Protestants was effected through the medium of an association, a form of organization of which there are many examples, both Catholic and Protestant, during this troubled period. The nucleus of the Catholic leagues, after which the Protestant organizations were partly patterned, seems to have been the local guilds. These were closely connected with the body of tradesmen, each trade having its patron saint and banner, as well as fixed places and days of meeting.³⁹ The south of France was far more aggressive than the north, and, to the disquietude of the government, many anti-Protestant associations were formed in more than one-half of the provinces. The earliest seems to have been that of Bordeaux, in 1560: this was the germ of the Roman Catholic league which later expanded over Bordelais and Gascony. The Parisians manifested their prejudice in an organized military form as early as 1562. On May 2 of that year the Parlement of Paris passed an ordinance directing the échevins and all loyal Catholics in each quarter of the city to organize under arms.⁴⁰ Leagues were formed at Aix in Provence in November, 1562, and at Agen-on-Garonne in Gascony on February 4, 1563.⁴¹ Cardinals Armagnac and Strozzi were sponsors of the famous Catholic League of Toulouse, launched on the third of March, 1563,⁴² which D'Aubigné called the prototype of all the leagues afterward formed in France.⁴³ Ten days later the League of Cadillac in Guyenne

³⁸ Condé, vol. ii, p. 435.

³⁹ For history and descriptions see, among others, St. Léon, 267; Quin-Lacroix, *L'Histoire des anciennes corporations d'arts et métiers de Rouen*. 8 vols., Rouen, 1850; vol. i, p. 520.

⁴⁰ Popelinière, vol. viii, p. 499.

⁴¹ Monluc, *Blaise de, Commentaires et lettres, 1521-76*. A. de Rublé. 5 vols., Paris, 1864-72; vol. iv, p. 190.

⁴² Devic et Vaissete, vol. v, p. 249.

⁴³ D'Aubigné, H. M., *Histoire de la Réformation du 16e siècle*. 5 vols., Paris, 1877-8; vol. ii, p. 137.

came into existence as a result of the efforts of Candalle, Montluc's lieutenant in the Bordeaux region.⁴⁴

In its sixth article the Edict of Pacification on March 19, 1563, forbade the formation of any new leagues and ordered the dissolution of those already existing.⁴⁵ The provision was a dead letter. After the first war many leagues, particularly those of Toulouse, Provence, and Agen were well organized. On March 31, six days before the edict was promulgated, Catherine sharply rebuked the red-handed Montluc for the inception of new organizations in Guyenne.⁴⁶ This blood-thirsty captain had been nicknamed "Brûle-Banc" because of the devastation wreaked upon Protestant communities by fire and sword. In April, 1563, a weak Catholic association sprang up in the Rouennais and lower Ile-de-France, while leagues were started in some of the Angevin and Maine towns.⁴⁷ What made the league of Agen, in Guyenne, so peculiarly formidable was the fact that it was organized and continued without the knowledge or consent of the crown. After August, 1564, it was called the league of Guyenne. North of the Loire there were to be no considerable associations of Catholics until 1568.

One of the very earliest forms of Protestant organization can be traced to Lower Guyenne, which was constituted an ecclesiastical province under the dispensations of 1559 and 1563. Especially at Nérac Montluc early experienced a strong combination of the Huguenots. In Guyenne the intensity of the democratic, revolutionary character of Protestantism was partly due to the memory of the revolt of 1548 and its merciless suppression.⁴⁸ In 1559 the Catholic jurisconsult des Autels said that the "rebels" were organized into three divisions: those who covered themselves with the mantle of religion; those who desired to be reformers

⁴⁴ *Commentaire de Montluc*, vol. iv, p. 214.

⁴⁵ *Isambert*, vol. xiv, p. 145.

⁴⁶ *Great Britain, Cal. St. P. For.*, No. 1000.

⁴⁷ Mourin, *La réforme et la ligue en Anjou*. Angers, 1856, p. 21.

⁴⁸ *Revue historique*, XCVII (1908), p. 341, note 6.

of the police; those who preached the benefits of liberty.⁴⁹ In the south of France there were other organized Huguenot agitations by June, 1561. At Montpellier, in Languedoc the Protestant movement in September had taken the form of a definite league, with the sweeping motto: "No mass, no more than at Geneva."⁵⁰ The operations of this league were so thorough that many Catholics were about to emigrate to Spanish Catalonia.

The association formed at Orléans on the eleventh of April, 1652, presents characteristics typical of contemporaneous Protestant organizations. The preamble of its instrument of government disclaimed any private motives on the part of those who were parties to the association, and asserted that the sole purpose was to liberate the King from "captivity" and punish the insolence and tyranny of the disloyal and of the enemies of the church. Idolatry, violence, blasphemy, and robbery were forbidden within the territory of the association, in order that all might know that it had the "fear of God before it." The association was to expire at the king's majority.⁵¹ Its rules were as much a body of military regulations for the discipline of the army as they were a political pact. There was, however, little of the politico-military character of the Roman Catholic leagues about it. In fact, with the exception of the Huguenot association in Dauphiny, there is no early example exactly similar to the leagues in the Catholic provinces. After the treaty of Amboise, March 19, 1563, the Protestant association of Languedoc maintained its organization, raised money, and levied troops.⁵² When the government required the razing of the walls of Huguenot strongholds, like St. Lô, Orléans, and Montauban, the Protestant leagues resisted. In spite of this, not until after the Bayonne episode of 1565 do we find a solid federation of Reformed

⁴⁹ Weill, George, *Les théories sur le pouvoir royal en France pendant les guerres de religion*. Paris, 1891, p. 36.

⁵⁰ Archives Nationales, K. 1495, No. 47, June 19, 1561.

⁵¹ Great Britain, Cal. St. P. For., No. 1003.

⁵² *Ibid.*, No. 896.

churches: the first crucial test of Protestant organization was made at the beginning of the Second Civil War. The consensus of opinion of authorities is that not until after 1572 did the Protestant organization reach a high point of military and political development.

Correro, the Venetian ambassador at the court of Henry III, wrote in 1569 that there were three classes of Protestants: the great, the bourgeois, and the gens du peuple. The first division, he claimed, were Protestants in order to supplant their enemies; the second, to enrich themselves; the last, because they had been led by false opinions.⁵³ It was characteristic of the Latin Catholics to attribute the Huguenots' change of heart to mercenary motives. Modern historians are almost unanimous in recording that the political Huguenots took arms against the authority of monarchs and pseudo-regents, and that the religious Huguenots rose against the authority of the mediaeval church. One student of the period classes the political Huguenots into separate groups: (1) monarchists, associated with Elizabeth of England, who desired to make Louis of Condé king of France; (2) the democratic faction, which aspired to a republic, the ultimate ideal of Calvin.⁵⁴ After a thorough study of the sources concerning the political organization of the Protestants it is the opinion of the writer that the Huguenot state cannot be thus divided, but was a mixture of the popular and the aristocratic elements. It was a republic within the monarchy.

The aristocratic element in the Huguenot party triumphed over the "Geneva party" of stern Protestants as a sequel to the treaty of Amboise, March 19, 1563.⁵⁵ By the terms of the latter, Condé was to succeed to the position of the late King of Navarre; the new religion was to be protected in all towns, except Paris; the Huguenot army should be paid by the central government; in every bailiwick the

⁵³ *Relations . . . vénétiens*, vol. ii, p. 113.

⁵⁴ Sichel, *Catherine de Medicis and the French Reformation*, p. 105.

⁵⁵ *Capefigue*, *Catherine de Medicis*, p. 260.

king was to appoint one town where the gospel might be preached; all gentlemen holding fiefs in mean justice might have preaching in their homes; all nobles enjoying high justice should be permitted to have preaching on their estates; property confiscated from either church was to be restored.⁵⁶

The military system of the Protestant organizations deserves particular consideration, for the Huguenots developed institutions which produced soldiers of another temper from those of the royalist armies. These associations gathered rapidly and from 1562 formed a general and permanent organization. The militia was constituted like a church, though one might think it was more of an army than a congregation.⁵⁷ The tactical unit of infantry in the sixteenth century was the "bande" or "enseigne." In 1560 such a company contained two hundred or less, but within a few years this number was reduced to seventy or eighty. The strength of the Catholic company was maintained at the larger figure, including two sergeants, six corporals, two drummers, one fife, and one quartermaster.⁵⁸ Each local Protestant church furnished an "enseigne," or infantry company. Sometimes the consistories of a district united to form a company. Some towns, like Castres, near Bordeaux, contributed three; others, as Rochelle, a dozen. Symmetry was sacrificed to conditions.

Companies of the same colloquy were grouped into a regional regiment, although united only administratively. All the colloquies of the same province combined to form an army corps, having at its head a permanent staff. All army corps were united under central authority, so that nearly all the elements of present day military institutions were then present. This territorial organization did not include cavalry, artillery, and foreign auxiliaries. Of the infantry Coligny said that the Protestants could put 200,000

⁵⁶ Isambert, vol. xiv, p. 135. Thompson, p. 191.

⁵⁷ Lettenhove, p. 31.

⁵⁸ Archives Nationales, K. 1496, No. 112.

in the field. His opponent Montluc exclaimed, with an oath: "What churches are these which turn out captains?"⁵⁹

The Turkish envoy who was an eyewitness of the battle of Dreux declared in his admiration: "If my master had 6000 horsemen like those whitecoats (Huguenots) he would be master of the world!"⁶⁰ In this particular battle the Protestants did have excellent cavalry. Often the "grand army," which in full force was 25,000, either lacked light horse and dragoons, or was supported by horsemen badly mounted and equipped, without cohesion. Often the cavalry was divided into cornets of one hundred, attached to no regiments whatsoever. The Huguenot cavalry company included one trumpeter, one sergeant-major, and two quartermasters. The light pistoleers could do little against the heavy reiters, partly due to the fact that the Protestant organization lacked the cuirasse, or breast-plate. In contrast to this branch of the Huguenot service, the strength of the Catholic army lay in the cavalry, a condition attributable to several causes. On the one hand the German and Swiss mercenaries had been for centuries available as infantry, and on the other the French feudal nobility had hated to see arms in the hands of common people and peasants.

At the outbreak of hostilities most of the artillery was in Catholic hands. Those cities in which the Protestants predominated quickly built walls at their own expense, but only a few of the churches possessed arsenals or cannon foundries. As soon as a central arsenal was established, however, cannons, falconets, and culverins were soon stiffening the Huguenot lines. The falconets were especially effective notwithstanding that the diameter of the bore was only four and one quarter inches. As a whole the ordnance was very diverse in form, length, and calibre, but had the same sized gun carriage, "monuments of proved solidity and fantastic weight." Spanish and Breton ships with cargoes

⁵⁹ *Commentaires de Blaise de Montluc*, vol. i, p. 228.

⁶⁰ Blackburn, *Admiral Coligny and the Rise of the Huguenots*, vol. ii, p. 67.

of metals were often intercepted by the Huguenot cruisers, in order that the Protestant foundries might not lack material for ordnance. One Catholic envoy avers that on May 14, 1562, the Protestants tore off the roof of the Rouen Cathedral to obtain lead for bullets.⁶¹ References to the artillery in action are scant, yet by a clever manouever on the twenty-first of April, 1562, nine days after the prince of Condé formally assumed command of the Huguenot forces, cannons were brought upstream to Orléans from Tours, at the juncture of the Loire and the Cher.⁶²

There were always two sections in the Huguenot camps, the "bataille" and the "avant-garde." The advance guard consisted of arquebusiers while the main body and rear-guard was hedged with pikes. Not serried ranks but liberty of movement was the order. At the sound of the bugle mobilization took place with great celerity. At the outset Coligny was handicapped in forming an army because there was no "cadre" or framework with which to start, the majority of the permanent forces being in Catholic hands. Yet by the period of Dreux he could assemble in four weeks 8000 horse and 25,000 infantry, a feat the king could not perform in less than four months.⁶³ Even in the most anti-Protestant city of France mobilization of Huguenots occurred upon such a scale that at the citizens' request there was enacted on May 2, 1562, an ordinance of the King taking away the arms of all in Paris who belonged to the Reform.⁶⁴ By the first of June there were 24,000 infantry in the capital to fight for the Queen.⁶⁵ Most of the Huguenot regiments were temporary and were paid off at the end of a campaign, although there existed always an "old guard."

One reason for Huguenot mercantile superiority lay in the fact that although the artisans of both religions left their

⁶¹ St. Croix, p. 167.

⁶² Whitehead, Gaspard de Coligny, p. 101.

⁶³ Lettenhove, p. 31.

⁶⁴ Condé, vol. iii, p. 419.

⁶⁵ St. Croix, p. 171.

trades at the outbreak of hostilities, the number who resumed their normal vocation was overwhelmingly Protestant. As early as September 7, 1560, Condé had observed that "foreign soldiers return to their trades after each war, but not so with the French (royalists)."⁶⁶

The field discipline of the Huguenots was severe. The chief innovation was public prayer, led by one of the officer-chaplains. No dice, cards, women, or blasphemy were to be found in the train of the armies of Condé and Coligny. Theft and debauchery were severely punished. There was a corresponding and probably resultant advance in the ethics of warfare of the opposing armies. On the nineteenth of August, 1562, appeared a royal edict, recorded in the Archives Nationales, on the conduct of the army.⁶⁷ "No soldiers, foot or cavalry, shall supply themselves with any arms or horses not belonging to them, on pain of death. Those found pillaging or robbing under whatever pretext, shall be punished by the arms they carry, or as the council shall dictate. The said soldiers shall pay their hosts for their entertainment according to a scale given out by the commissary. They are forbidden to start quarrels and monopolies on penalty of death. The soldiers shall not abandon their ensign without permission of said court and of their captains."

The Protestant soldiers dressed as they pleased. It was customary, but not compulsory, to wear the chief's livery. Probably because it was the color of Condé, the soldiers wore white cassocks. After Vassy all Huguenot cavalry did likewise, while their horses were caparisoned in white. The officers of the mounted service dressed in white velvet; on their iron corselet was the heraldic scarf of white, and on the helmet the legendary white plume. The standard bearer always carried a flag of white. Red was Navarre's color, while the Huguenots of the duke of Deux-Ponts (Zweibrücken) wore yellow and black.⁶⁸ Because the gay

⁶⁶ Condé, Sept. 7, 1560.

⁶⁷ Archives Nationales, K. 1496, No. 112.

⁶⁸ Lehr, p. 10.

colors of feudal days had not yet been supplanted by the neutral tints of modern warfare, the comparative casualties were much higher in 1560.

The Protestant military leaders were usually men of letters and high culture, brave, but thinkers as well. Lanoue regrets the diminution of nobles in the officers' corps in the later civil wars. Cadets of foremost houses of France were among the rank and file, but the captains and lieutenants were often soldiers of fortune. Monluc was the only one who ever spoke of the Huguenot leaders and soldiers as mediocre. His opinion was based upon one incident only.⁶⁹ Aside from their greatest chiefs the Protestants had the counsel of old veterans of the Italian wars.

The meagre accounts of the Huguenot military budget state that the army (or church) was divided into twenty-four groups, with six chiefs each, paying each year a tribute of 800,000 francs, of which 100,000 went to the Queen of Navarre, and 40,000 to Coligny.⁷⁰ Although there is no direct evidence as to the Huguenot scale of wages, an idea of their salaries may be obtained by examining the royalist pay roll. By the month captains of cavalry received one hundred livres tournois, cavalry sergeant-majors and cornets, fifty; each horseman and quartermaster, sixteen; trumpeters, twelve. Captains of infantry were paid one hundred livres; lieutenants, fifty; ensigns, thirty; sergeants, twenty; corporals, eighteen; drummers, fifers and quartermasters, twelve each. The cuirassiers received ten livres per month. Visored arquebusiers were paid ten, unvisored, eight. Unarmored pikemen obtained a pittance of one livre.⁷¹ Eight thousand Gascons, the best foot soldiers of the royalist army, received without qualification four hundred livres apiece each year. The Protestant reiters were paid fifteen florins monthly, while the stipends of colonel, lieutenant, and ensign were respectively 250, 95 and 75 florins. The British Record Office estimated the wages and

⁶⁹ Monluc, p. 364.

⁷⁰ Lettenhove, p. 31.

⁷¹ Archives Nationales, K. 1496, No. 112.

appointments of 4000 reiters and officers each month at 122,048 livres tournois or 81,532 florins. To each four reiters was assigned at thirty florins monthly, a carriage with four horses. The total expense of the 4000 reiters for four months, including the levy, amounted to 569,792 livres or 379,861 florins. Lansquenets, or German foot soldiers, were levied at an outlay of a crown per month. An ensign of three hundred men cost the Huguenots each month 3500 livres. The fund necessary to satisfy this entire foreign branch of the service was the equivalent of 395,000 livres or 263,337 florins every four months. At one period the French army relinquished 80,000 francs in order that their allies, the German reiters, might receive their wages.⁷² The dilatory tactics of the English queen were responsible for this shortage. Nor was the Catholic army immune from financial embarrassment. On the twelfth of December, 1562, President Leguier informed the Parlement of Paris that Francis of Guise had told him there were owing the soldiers fifteen months' wages.⁷³ One week later occurred the crucial battle of Dreux.

One final word concerns the military organization of the towns captured by the Protestants. These places were linked together so as to form a chain between Orléans, the "Protestant Rome," and the provinces where the Huguenots were strongest, notably Gascony, Dauphiny, and Languedoc.

⁷² Blackburn, vol. ii, p. 67.

⁷³ Condé, Dec. 12, 1562.

CHAPTER IV

THE REFORM AT ITS HEIGHT

The progress of the pacific Reform may best be traced through the series of royal edicts issued during the five years preceding the first war of religion. The edict of Paris (1549), of Fontainebleau (1550), and of Chateaubriand (1551) made the Protestants subject to both ecclesiastical and secular tribunals.¹ The Edict of Compiègne of July 24, 1557, sentenced to death any one who publicly or secretly professed other than the Catholic religion. The whole reign of Henry II saw war without and persecution of the Protestants within. Diane de Poitiers, Lorraine, St. André, and Constable Montmorency, the four favorites of this king, who was "of soft spirit, little judgment and easily led 'par le nez,'" continually persuaded him that religion was the enemy of all monarchy. Tavannes declared that it tended to democracy.² The Cardinal Lorraine possessed the king's conscience, while Diane was a sorceress who hated the Protestants. "Not a drop of justice fell on France during her twelve years (1547-1559) except by stealth," said the Huguenots.³ This favorite also convinced the monarch that the means of covering all vices was the extermination of Rome's enemies, and thereupon began the activities of the *Chambre Ardente*, before the creation of which heresy had been dealt with by the regular courts. In June, 1559, the month before the death of Henry II, the edict of Ecouan provided for the execution of all heretics, without the least reprieve or mitigation.⁴

Henry was mortally wounded in the tournament given in

¹ Thompson, p. 10.

² Tavannes, vol. ii, p. 111.

³ Blackburn, vol. i, p. 35.

⁴ Castelnau, Bk. i, chap. iii.

the double celebration of the nuptials of his daughter Elizabeth and Philip II of Spain, and of Henry's sister Marguerite and the duke of Savoy. As the point of Montgomery's splintered lance penetrated the right eye of the King, the spectators recalled the previous omens of Henry's death. Marshall Vieilleville had had sombre presentiments. De Thou quotes an astrologer. Carloix records that Henry, as he fell, said that he "had unjustly afflicted those people over there," meaning prominent Huguenots who had been executed.⁵ Others noted in his death chamber the presence of a suggestive and accusing tapestry of Saul on the Damascus road. The Huguenots considered Henry's death as a judgment of God.⁶ Moreover, persons of the communion of Rome also viewed the fatal accident as a retribution, although upon different grounds. Henry was accused by the Catholic writer Pasquier of being proclaimed "protecteur de la liberté germanique"; that is, heresy, the "profound cause of the civil war."

Four months after the accession of the young King Francis, a new edict of November, 1559, ordained that all those who attended conventicles or participated in any secret assemblies, should be put to death and their homes razed, never to be rebuilt. Letters-patent to this effect were handed to the head of the Châtelet prison and judges were appointed by Charles of Lorraine to decide without appeal. The priests even resorted to erecting images of the Virgin at intersections of thoroughfares in order that "unbelievers" might be apprehended.

On March 27, 1560, the celebrated Michel de l'Hôpital was appointed to the chancellorship to succeed Olivier, who until the day of his death had been a tool of the Guises. The accession of this great statesman paved the way for the edict of Romorantin, in May, 1560. According to this instrument the legal processes dealing with religion were transferred from the courts of parlement and lay tribunals to

⁵ D'Aubigné, *Histoire de la Réformation*, vol. i, p. 237.

⁶ Great Britain, Cal. St. P. For., No. 899, June 30, 1559.

ecclesiastical judges. This legislation meant that accused persons need no longer fear the death penalty, for sentences might be delayed through appeals from the acts of bishops to archbishops and even to Rome. In consequence many of those who had fled from France returned, among them pastors from Switzerland and England, and many of the 1400 families who had sought refuge in Geneva during the reign of Henry II.⁷ This number was appreciably augmented one month after the death of the second Francis when there appeared under the seal of the new king, Charles IX, January 7, 1561, a liberal Declaration of Toleration.⁸

A tentative Edict of July, 1561, was promulgated when it became apparent that the convening of the Colloquy of Poissy, wherein the religious issue was to be discussed by both sects, was being postponed. This ordinance, while seeming to pronounce judgment, really evaded the question at issue.⁹ Similar to the edict of Romorantin of May, 1560, it gave the established church full jurisdiction of heresy, the severest punishment for which was to be banishment. False accusers were to be punished in like manner as the accused, had the latter really been guilty. Under this edict Protestant assemblies flourished.

The most decisive decree was that of 1562, generally known as the Edict of January. This, the "first promulgation of liberty of conscience," was the first ordinance that permitted the exercise of the Protestant religion in public.¹⁰ It was L'Hôpital's last stake: if it failed, civil war. The new edict accorded to the Reform—(1) the right to hold public reunions for worship; (2) to raise money for necessary expenses and for the poor by voluntary offerings; (3) to maintain their consistorial and synodical organization and to enjoy the regular exercise of this three-fold right under the protection of superior authority.¹¹ Upon these three

⁷ Levasseur, Emile, *La Population française*, vol. i, p. 190.

⁸ Opera Calvini, vol. xviii, p. 337. Isambert, vol. xiv, p. 31.

⁹ Thompson, p. 104.

¹⁰ Dargaud, *Histoire de la liberté religieuse*. 4 vols., Paris, 1879; vol. ii, p. 89.

¹¹ Delaborde, *Vie de Coligny*, p. 1.

points there were several restrictions. It was forbidden to build temples in the towns or their environs (art. 1). Any assembly with preaching as the object could not be held day or night in the towns (art. 2). Assemblies outside the walls could only be held by day without arms (art. 3), and if noblemen were not present (art. 5), only under the watch of royal officers (art. 6). Ministers were to swear to preach no doctrine contrary to the pure word of God (art. 10) according to the Nicean agreement, and might not go by force from village to village without the consent of the lords, curates, and vicars. As for the finances, alms and charities should not be made by imposition, but voluntarily. Unless a royal officer were present, there might be no meeting of any consistorial or synodical organization. Article 4 forbade all magistrates, judges, and others to molest the Reformed assemblies, but at the same time all pastors were advised not to use invectives in their sermons (art. 2). Acceptance of the conditions followed. The Parlement of Rouen was the first to register the edict, on January 27. Bordeaux and Toulouse ratified on February 6; Paris, one month later. Dijon, normally with the Huguenot tendencies, would not register, owing to the influence of Aumale and Tavannes.

From the edict of January were deduced the two distinct grounds upon which liberty of conscience might be demanded. One view, coincident with that of Locke, held that the state owes to all creeds which do not infringe public order equal protection, because no creed is self-evident, and therefore no right to be enforced. The second theory was that the relation between men's consciences and God is exempt by its very nature from all legislative control. Unfortunately neither of these principles was widely recognized in the sixteenth century. Coligny and L'Hôpital advanced the view that the French Protestants asked toleration not in the name of conscience and religious liberty, but because they were Christians accepting the Nicean and Apostles' creeds. One writer suggests that had this theory

been accepted two different religions would have existed in France—very different from religious liberty.¹²

In France, situated between the northern Protestant and the southern Catholic countries, the population was so heterogeneous in character and origin, that it would seem as if that should be the nation which the great religious movement of the sixteenth century would divide and distract above all others. But notwithstanding the presence of both tendencies in the country it was not until 1559, when the Reformation had triumphed in Germany, England, Scotland, Switzerland, Denmark, and Sweden, that it crystallized in France. Teutonic independence, under the form of religious Protestantism, undid the Roman Catholic yoke, upset Germany, and invaded France. Francis I and Henry VIII, in a corrupt and depraved age, were first responsible for the disputes on religion. France, where the new doctrine was first taught, was the last in which it proved the occasion of social turmoil and political division. In the twelfth century France had headed the crusades; in the thirteenth, the most brilliant intellects were found in her universities; the fourteenth found her monarchs triumphing over the Popes. In the fifteenth century France had stood out successfully for the rights of the church at large against the claims of Rome at Basle, Pisa, and Constance. In the sixteenth, however, as one writer points out, it was not the French who discovered the telescope, rounded the Cape of Good Hope, or gave an Erasmus to literature, or a da Vinci, Cardan, or Copernicus to science.¹³

Why did France, where the new doctrine was first taught, proceed so slowly in the great religious movement? Unlike some other nations, France found no political or ecclesiastical assistance with which to help her advance. Then, as now, the French church was not groaning under the same shackles as elsewhere. The French spirit of independence allayed any fears that the Vatican might attempt to divert

¹² Bersier, p. 292.

¹³ Hanna, William, *The Wars of the Huguenots*. London, 1871, p. 1.

Gallic finances into Italian channels. The state and church of France had not the same causes for quarrel with the Pope as some other nations. In France there was less material for the reformers to work on. Their activity was viewed by the established church as a denial and demolition of her proud authority. The royal power of Francis II and Charles IX was in conflict with the growing municipal freedom of the towns which it desired to curb and, with the feudal independence of the nobles, which it wished to obliterate. The Reform, a product of liberty, extended aid to both these enemies of royalty, and therefore drew down its revenge.

In 1500 the Valois had been absolute. The beliefs of Luther contained nothing dangerous for civil government. The adherents of Calvin were instructed to obey God and the magistrates. Calvinism itself would not have imperiled royalty. The sovereignty of the people, however, was the doctrinal notion of the Protestants, while the history of the times presented a series of weak sovereigns versus virile reformers. Yet opinions differ as to motives. Lettenhove, a Catholic, maintained that the Protestant conspiracy was essentially feudal at the outset. He thought he noted a double character: "anti-national," rejected by the people, and "criminal," sustained by foreigners.¹⁴ Weill, in his theories upon the royal power, insists that the Catholics desired to rid France of her bad kings and to convene the States-General, but with those objects insisted upon the respect due the church.¹⁵ The statement is indeed open to serious question that in reform projects the Protestants tended to aristocracy and the Catholics to democracy. La Boëtie asked why millions of men submitted to the will of one, often the weakest in the kingdom. As a matter of fact the union of church and state in France was so firm that it was thought impossible to infringe upon one without the other. Therefore the Valois thought to defend both by fighting the Protestants.

¹⁴ Lettenhove, p. 25.

¹⁵ Weill, p. 1.

Broadly speaking, the Catholic church, royalty, and the universities were immediately responsible for the climax of the pacific and martial Reform. The great religious movement of the sixteenth century had for its object the emancipation of human conscience from ecclesiastical authority. For generations there had persisted the need for a reform of the ecclesiastical discipline, but the abuses, in spite of Popes and councils, obstinately clung. In France the States-General of Orléans demanded the urgent reform of the clergy, the convocation of a church council, the suppression of tribute to Rome, the gratuitous administration of the sacraments, and the foundation of schools and hospitals with the money of the clergy.¹⁶ Incompetence in spiritual and temporal government was characteristic of the established church of the century. Rome was more concerned with art and politics. In the essentials of science, perfection of man, human liberty, the dignity of the family, political economy and prosperity, literature, useful knowledge, and several of the fine arts, Catholicism was helping but little.

The errors of royalty by commission and omission, in so far as they affected the Reform, have been considered in the first chapter. The accession of a boy to the throne in 1559, the humiliating treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis, and the enormous debts left by Henry II, all combined to favor the propagation of new thoughts. A third cause is to be found in the universities. Many historians claim that the Reform in France began in these institutions. It is true that the first to hail the new doctrines were the lettered classes. Among the artisans of the towns and villages, however, the new faith effected the greatest and purest progress. As a matter of fact, Protestant universities introduced two great ideas of political and religious liberty,¹⁷ yet Morin in his "Dictionnaire de Scholastique" charges that the Huguenot retarded the march of human progress and stopped the scientific revolution inaugurated by those Catholic geniuses Co-

¹⁶ Barré-Duparcq, *Histoire de Charles IX*, Paris, 1875, p. 33.

¹⁷ Stocquart, E., *Le mariage des protestants*. Brussels, 1903, p. 120.

pernicus and Columbus!¹⁸ History records that the Reform caused even the Roman See to improve in science and morals.

Beza called Orléans University one of the three fountains of the Reform, while Rublé referred to that institution as the "arsenal" of the new movement,¹⁹ and well they might, for Lutheranism had been powerful at Orléans as early as 1528, when Olivétan, a comrade of Beza, was expelled for heresy. The celebrated Wolmar was one of the Protestant professors. The university was widely known for Roman law while Canon law had gradually become a field for study and controversy on religious matters. The Orléans seat of learning was in full splendor in the sixteenth century. The questions which were agitating Europe were right in its midst. Ten "nations" or republics were formed from the various student nationalities, including hundreds of German, Swiss, and Flemish students who introduced the germs of Protestantism and deemed it an honor to "spread them in the households" of the college town.²⁰ There are several definite instances to show that although dormitories existed many students overflowed into the homes of the townsmen, there to further the new creed of their native lands. Similarly, the "martinets" or externes of the University of Paris did not reside in any college or pension, but in the homes of the citizens.²¹

As early as 1531 the new religion was evoking restrictive measures. In that year Francis I compelled all candidates for the doctorate to present certificates of orthodoxy before the Parlement of Paris. The ten "nations" of students, comprised largely of groups of nationals from northern Protestant countries, were reduced to four: Germany, Ile-de-France, Picardy and Champagne, and Normandy. Since there were many Protestant students from Burgundy, Sain-

¹⁸ Buet, p. 37.

¹⁹ Lacombe, *Catherine de Medicis entre Guise et Condé*, Paris, 1899, p. 32.

²⁰ Lacombe, p. 27.

²¹ Crevier, *Histoire de l'Université de Paris*, 7 vols., Paris, 1761; vol. vi, p. 33.

tonge, Poitou, and Rochelle, the intent of the reduction in the number of "nations" is obvious.²² It is needless to explain that mutinous students of all Catholic localities fanned the flames against the Protestants.

The Venetian ambassador, Jean Michiel, wrote in 1561 that the University of Paris was frequented by twenty thousand students, mostly poor.²³ The best subjects were theology, Greek, Latin and French letters, in addition to philosophy and mathematics. Many doctors and jurisconsults were counted among the university graduates. The foreign minister comments upon the low salaries and the great obligations of the professors. The "externes" of the university lived in the homes of the Parisians, and were not under the professor's care after the lessons were over, but the Procureur-General wanted it enjoined upon principals and masters of colleges, upon penalty of losing their privileges, to hold their students both in and out of the university. The new religious liberty which had been introduced by the native and foreign "nations" was beginning to annoy the Guises. When the novel spirit commenced to permeate the monasteries of St. Germain de Prés and St. Croix, and to presage the desertion from the Catholic ranks of whole convents and consistories in and around the rabid capital, injunctions were secured to prevent the monks from assisting in university processions.²⁴ In a university far larger than any American college, it would seem impossible to keep the students exempt from religious divisions, yet an edict of the Parlement of Paris of July 9, 1562, ordered all members of the university to make confession of the Roman Catholic faith.²⁵ The first civil war had then been raging for months.

At Valence University there were from 1555 to 1563 two great Reform professors, Cujas and Loriol in law. The Protestant students met openly for the first time on Sunday,

²² Aldeguier, *Histoire de Toulouse*. 4 vols., Toulouse; vol. i, p. 396.

²³ *Relations . . . vénetiens*, vol. i, p. 263.

²⁴ Crevier, vol. vi, p. 80.

²⁵ Condé, vol. iii, p. 524.

March 31, 1560, at 8 a.m. and 2 p.m., in the Cordeliers church.²⁶ The Calvinists among the professors and students at Toulouse University became so strong that they threatened to overthrow the government with the help of Montauban, than which no name in Huguenot annals shines more brightly. Monluc discovered the plot, however, on June 24, 1562, and the history of the civil wars produced no greater ferocity than that exhibited towards one another by the civilian populations of Catholic Toulouse and Protestant Montauban. If the Romanists were savages, the Montaubanese passed motions that all who were destined to "idolatry" were worthy of being burned.²⁷ Of all the seats of learning in France the universities at Orléans, Bourges, and Toulouse were classed by Beza as the chief places in which the Reform had its inception. The church of the Huguenots at Orléans, in 1557, and many others in university towns, were directly due to Lutheran students and the influence of professors of civil law and humanism.²⁸

The progress of the reform may be profitably considered according to the accessions from the ranks of the various classes, the nobility, the clergy, and the third estate. Until 1555 the converts to Protestantism in France had mainly been drawn from the middle classes—tradesmen, artists, lawyers, doctors, teachers, and other thinking people. Between 1515 and 1555 the only nobles professing the Reform were Farel, Berquin, de Coct, Gaudet and Margaret of Navarre.²⁹ Some have thought that the greatest Protestant leaders, outside of Condé, were ladies. Condé's wife and mother-in-law probably came over to the Reform in 1558. The Huguenots made their supreme attempt to capture France at the colloquy of Poissy, in the summer of 1561. In the previous May Chantonay reported to his imperial

²⁶ Arnaud, *Histoire des Protestants du Dauphiné*. 3 vols., Paris, 1875, p. 1.

²⁷ Le Bret, *Histoire de Montauban*. 2 vols., Montauban, 1668; vol. ii, p. 34.

²⁸ *Bulletin de la Société de protestantisme française*. 60 vols., Paris; vol. xxxviii, p. 86.

²⁹ Blackburn, *Coligny*, vol. i, p. 15.

master at Madrid a statement of the Prince Roche-sur-yon that a majority of the nobility were Protestant.³⁰ The Venetian ambassador Michiel wrote to the Doge in the same year to the effect that especially the nobles not over forty years of age were being "contaminated."³¹ Weill bears witness that up to 1561 converts had not been made among the nobles.³² In Crespin's "*Histoire des Martyrs*" for the preceding forty years there appear the names of only three nobles and two country people. At the epoch of the Poissy and Pontoise colloquies, however, the court was being won over to the new religion, and by 1562 the Reformed churches found themselves ready for the contest, because of the accession of a great many nobles, mostly fresh recruits. The plot of Jacques de Savoie, duc de Nemours, to kidnap the young duke of Orléans, and the success of Coligny in allaying opposition to Catherine de Medicis at the Estates of Pontoise, may well have served to win over some of the nobility to the Reform.

With two hundred names of Knights of the Order, privy councilors, captains, and military leaders, the Protestant party appeared predominantly aristocratic. Thenceforth the Huguenot annals were to be adorned with such names as Condé, Roman, Andelot Portien, Coligny, Rochefoucauld, Chartres, Genlis, Senarpont, Prenne, Montgomery, Sombise, La Noue, Morny, Chalons, Fouquières, La Fayette, Morvillier, Bouchavannes, Puygreffier, Du Viger, Mouvans, St. Aubun, La Suze, Duras, Teligny, Dummartin, Esternas, St. Remy, Briquemault, Bussy, and St. Foye. In the words of the Venetian representative in Paris, "heresy had corrupted almost all the nobility and a great part of the French people. Without doubt heresy had its root and germ among the powerful; this was because of the plot of the Bourbons against Guise. The Bourbons used religion as a means to crush Guise."³³ To the Italian mind the chancellor

³⁰ Archives Nationales, K. 1494, No. 83, May 1, 1561.

³¹ Relations . . . vénétiens, vol. i, p. 409.

³² Weill, p. 62.

³³ Relations . . . vénétiens, vol. ii, p. 55.

L'Hôpital was the head, and Condé the workman. The latter was called the "capitaine muet" of the university students who were accused of complicity in the Amboise conspiracy.

The court at Paris, or wherever the king shifted his headquarters in order to elude his creditors, was not alone in contributing converts among the first estate. Philip of Spain was informed by his henchmen at the French court that many of the nobles of Languedoc, Provence, Lyonnais, and Auvergne, provinces of the Rhone river valley, had gone over to the Reform.³⁴ Andelot, the brother of Coligny, had accepted Protestant doctrines in 1557, and along with pastor Carmel repaired to his estates in Brittany. In Nantes, the Breton city celebrated for its edict of toleration of 1598, the Reform counted many people of letters and several members of Parlement as early as 1559. In Brittany and Picardy all the nobles and three-fourths of the men of letters were Protestant by 1562.³⁵ Soon Andelot was endeavoring to consolidate the new churches in Brittany. The governor of Guyenne shocked the Guises by declaring for the Reform. As a result of the Protestant public preaching in Valence and Montelimart many lords left the Catholic party. Chief among these was the nephew of Cardinal Tournon, Sire de Montbrun, who endeavored to prevail upon all his vassals to join the Huguenots. Clermont, lieutenant-governor of Dauphiny, was removed on account of his leniency towards the new faith. In rural feudal districts conversion was mainly due to the influence of Protestant gentlemen-farmers, often retired bourgeois, who purchased the country estates of the older nobility who had been bankrupted by the Italian and Flemish wars, or preferred to live at court.

The nobles at the Protestant stronghold of Orléans were emphatic in their response to the articles of peace sent by King Charles IX on May 15, 1562. Seven items were insisted upon. The January Edict should be observed. The

³⁴ Archives Nationales, K. 1495, No. 58, Aug. 1, 1561.

³⁵ Benoit, *Elié, Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes*. Delft, 1693, p. 19.

Guises must return to Lorraine. Protestant temples were to be permitted. The royal government was named to supplant the Guises. All things done in council during the king's captivity should be declared void. The troops of Antoine of Navarre must be disbanded. Upon the foreign soldiers of the Guises an immediate check was to be put.³⁶ Recognizing the increasing strength of the Protestant nobles, the Parlement of Paris on the thirteenth of July, 1562, issued a proclamation enjoining all royal officers to make profession of their faith in the Roman Catholic religion upon penalty of forfeiting their positions.³⁷

Society in the towns, which for a long time had not governed themselves, was aristocratic and controlled by the nobility and clergy. The nobles and gentlemen dominated the major portion of rural lands, and dictated public conduct from medieval fortified castles. More often, however, they were at war or at court. The nobles alone constituted the regular cavalry, which in the sixteenth century was the principal arm of the service.³⁸ Accordingly the nobility wielded great power in the state and the acquisition by the Huguenots of two hundred such adherents and their connections had tremendous military and political significance.

The second source of accession to the ranks of the Protestants was the clergy. The upper ecclesiastics had great riches and ranked as great lords, while the lower clergy were very poor. Noting the agitation among the classes, the Italian Michiel in 1561 averred that the contagion of Protestantism was spreading even to priests, monks, bishops, and convents, of which few were free from the "pest."³⁹ Even in Provence, Dauphiny, and Normandy, which claimed the greatest number of Catholics of the provinces, "all except those who fear loss of life and property are profoundly affected." He adds that the prisons were being emptied, doubtless in order to swell the riots against the Huguenots.

³⁶ Condé, vol. iii, p. 375.

³⁷ Ibid., vol. iii, p. 524.

³⁸ Thompson, p. 18.

³⁹ Relations . . . vénétiens, vol. i, p. 409.

Guyenne, except Bordeaux, was badly "infected," while the priests, friars, nuns, bishops, and prelates were deserting the established church in Touraine, Poitou, Gascony, Normandy, Dauphiny, Languedoc, and Provence.⁴⁰ Among the former priests who became Huguenot ministers were Marlorat and Barelles, pastors at Rouen and Toulouse, respectively.⁴¹ Whole convents came into the movement. The Cordeliers and Dominicans at Die, Milhau, and St. Foye in Agenois early in May, 1562, gave their convent to the Reform.⁴² Preachers from Geneva seemed to act as magnets to many of the thoughtful priests. Psalms were sung at the court. The discussions permitted between the doctors of the Sorbonne and priests with the Protestants upon such subjects as images, baptism, mass, imposition of hands, and the Eucharist often terminated in conversion to the new faith. These individual cases persisted in spite of the fact that the Sorbonne let it be freely understood that it would never obey any order issued to the injury of the Catholic religion, even should the crown change its faith. Numerous priests were dissatisfied over the granting of bishoprics and abbeys to sectaries, often foreign, rather than to good Catholics. Others, observing the disinclination of the government to punish certain tumults on account of religion, as well as the early favor of Navarre and the *grandeurs* at court, declared openly for Protestantism.

The people of France, according to Caesar, had always distinguished themselves above the rest of Europe in religious zeal, so now in both Catholic and Protestant, a glowing earnestness seemed to characterize the church member of the sixteenth century. One reason for the enthusiasm on the side of Protestantism among the common people was the fact that the Huguenot ministers preached in French and avoided the mysterious Latin. After the sermon, service was continued with prayer and singing of psalms in French rhyme, with vocal and instrumental music in which

⁴⁰ Archives de la Gironde, vol. xiii, p. 132; vol. xvii, p. 256.

⁴¹ Floquet, *Histoire du Parlement de Normandie*, vol. ii, p. 307.

⁴² Arnaud, *Dauphiné*, p. 114.

the congregation joined. But the attraction was not universal, for, although the French third estate contributed largely to the 2150 Protestant congregations, the peasants remained strongly Catholic. The primary reason for this was social and on the whole the peasant was contented. The economic changes of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were disastrous to the artisan, but reacted in favor of agriculture. Economists tell us that the rent paid to the landlord, immutably fixed in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, represented under the new values of money a light burden, while the decline in the value of silver enhanced the nominal worth of the products of the soil. Land values were falling rapidly at the very time when the French gentry, ceasing to be an aristocracy of gentlemen-farmers and becoming a court-nobility, were forced to dispose of their estates in order to meet their expenses. When any nobleman, from Lorraine to Navarre, desired to sell at any price a portion of his estate, there was inevitably in that particular section a countryman who had been hoarding for years and now consummated the life-long wish to become a land owner. The reigns of Louis XII and Francis I marked an era of genuine prosperity for the peasants of France. When this condition is contrasted with the state of the German peasant, who at the period of the revolt of 1525 was relapsing into servitude, one may readily see why there was not in France a violent religious and social upheaval. Economic conditions did indeed become more acute for the peasantry, with the accession of Henry II in 1547, but not nearly so crucial as for the artisans and others of the common people. We do not find the peasants fleeing abroad, as did many workmen, in order to escape persecution. Wherever the Reform took effect among the peasantry it can be traced to a quiet movement in the hearts of men.

How did the component groups of the parties in the civil war compare? On the Catholic side were the clergy and the Romish masses, Queen Catherine, veteran warriors, bril-

liant courtiers, able statesmen, shrewd diplomats, keen lawyers, distinguished courtiers, and Spain and Rome. In the Protestant ranks was a scorned sect, a "company under the ban, a crowd of malcontents,"⁴³ yet including nobles, owners of castles, military captains, gentlemen, discerning statesmen, freeholders, and several celebrated women.

The heads of the king's party were cognizant of the wars in foreign countries on account of religion, but the common people mostly knew nothing of them and could never believe that there was such a great number of Protestants in France. Estimates as to the proportion of Catholics and Protestants in the sixteenth century were widely divergent. Merimée accounts for one million and a half Huguenots, with proportionately more wealth, soldiers, and generals than the opposite communion.⁴⁴ The bishop St. Croix, who on October 16, 1561, upon the occasion of his tour of France, reported to his Italian colleagues that he had found no images or crosses broken, wrote that the "most clear headed and circumspect in France assure me that there is at most only one-eighth of France whose sentiments are not Catholic."⁴⁵ His statement of January 7, 1562, expressed the sentiment that the kingdom was upon the point of final ruin with no escape. Giving testimony as to the overwhelming number of heretics in France, the Catholic bishop of Viterbo was so sure of the wrack and ruin of the nation that he obtained his recall to Italy, as early as the middle of May, 1561.⁴⁶ A remonstrance of 1562 to the Pope reiterated that one-fourth of France was separated from the communion of Rome.⁴⁷ A Venetian source of March 14, 1562, said that there were 600,000 Huguenots in France.⁴⁸ King Charles IX's remonstrance to the Pope called atten-

⁴³ Blackburn, vol. i, p. 186.

⁴⁴ Merimée, Prosper, *Chronique du règne de Charles IX.* Paris, 1856, p. 8.

⁴⁵ St. Croix, vol. i, p. 14.

⁴⁶ Baird, Beza, p. 127; Great Britain, Cal. St. P. For., May 17, 1561.

⁴⁷ Cal. St. P. For., No. 1453 (1562).

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 935.

tion to the fact that one-quarter of the kingdom was Protestant.⁴⁹ The reader must remember that there were one hundred and forty episcopal towns in France, each as "full as possible."⁵⁰ Paris in 1559 had 450,000 population. Lettenhove remarks that the Protestants were most numerous in central France, and that it was there that the assemblies most multiplied.⁵¹ The Venetian ambassador estimated that scarcely one-third were heretical in 1567.⁵² With contemporaries so wide apart in their enumerations the investigator is obliged to be cautious with estimates.

Beza recorded 2150 Protestant churches. Orléans had 7000 members. Normandy boasted 305 pastors, Provence sixty. The average congregation, however, must have been much smaller than those in the Huguenot strongholds of Orléanais, Normandy, and Provence. Montluc put the population of France at sixteen millions. Had there been 1,600,000 Protestants, or one-tenth of the inhabitants, each of the 2150 churches would have averaged 750 members. Thompson considers that less than half this number would be closer to the truth, with not one over three-quarters of a million before the massacre of St. Bartholomew.⁵³

A few figures upon the provinces and towns are available. Suriano wrote on April 17, 1561, "there is not one single province uncontaminated."⁵⁴ Coligny told the king in 1560 that there were 50,000 Protestants in Normandy.⁵⁵ Dijon was two-thirds Lutheran, according to an *échevin* of the city in 1554. Eight years later two thousand of them were expelled by Tavannes. In the southwest Bordeaux had 7000 Protestants and two ministers within the inner walls, in 1561.⁵⁶ Toulouse, upstream from Bordeaux and Montauban on the Garonne, possessed a strong contingent of

⁴⁹ Condé, vol. ii, p. 812.

⁵⁰ Suriano, p. 363.

⁵¹ Lettenhove, p. 73.

⁵² *Relations . . . vénétiens*, vol. ii, p. 121.

⁵³ Thompson, p. 231.

⁵⁴ *Great Britain*, Cal. St. P. Ven., 272.

⁵⁵ Floquet, vol. ii, p. 318.

⁵⁶ Devienne (C.), *Histoire de la ville de Bordeaux*. Bordeaux, 1771, p. 132.

20,000. Often audiences of 10,000 would greet the pastor at the suburban services, while five thousand more was not an unusual assemblage in the city temple. Even in the little town of Anduze, at the entrance of the Cevennes, three thousand Huguenots would assemble at the service during the year 1560. In the coast town of Dieppe in Picardy two thousand met once a day.⁵⁷

The pacific reform reached its high water mark in France and Béarn early in 1560. Between that time and the outbreak of the civil war there were conflicts between the two parties which need to be considered in connection with the whole story of French Protestantism, for the previous thirty years had also witnessed a series of attempts to crush it by violence. The period after 1560 is the martyrdom of the Huguenot church. Holland alone surpassed France in the number of victims, and both were quite in contrast to the cases of England and Scotland, where the pilgrim may stand by every stake. In France a generation of the purity of Protestantism, free from political alliances and fixed creeds and forms of worship, may be said to have terminated in 1560, to be followed by a fierce struggle for supremacy.

Among causes for conflict the images in the churches seemed especially to incite the ire of the Huguenots. Throckmorton reported the first instance of the year 1560 on February 27. Writing to Queen Elizabeth he said that "idols had been cast out of the churches throughout Aquitaine, and the same procedure would speedily be instituted in Provence."⁵⁸ Chantonnay informed the duke of Sessa on March 24 that some insurgents at St. Malo had killed certain public officials and prevented an execution. The following day the cardinal Bourbon on his way to Rouen passed a grove where two thousand Calvinists were listening to a sermon. A riot ensued when a priest and a clerk called them Lutherans. Two days later the preacher was burned

⁵⁷ Great Britain, Cal. St. P. For., No. 857, Jan. 1, 1561.

⁵⁸ Ibid., For., No. 779.

at the stake.⁵⁹ On the fourteenth of April the ambassador at Paris from Venice wrote home that the insurgents in Provence "have stripped the churches and mutilated the images."⁶⁰ In Dauphiny the achievements of Montbrun, a convert of Beza, made him famous. Early in May the Huguenots became masters of Provence, by the admission of the Italians. It was reported that "very free sermons have been delivered in the churches of Bayonne," in Navarre,⁶¹ and the bishop of Agen wrote that the inhabitants of that city were in a state of furious insurrection. On May 11, 1560, Calvin wrote from Geneva to the French Protestants that he had not communicated with them for six months on account of his deep sorrow that the Reform should have taken up arms. The peace of Amboise had marked the triumph of the aristocratic element of the Protestants whose interests were identified with their political purposes and feudal position, over the Geneva party.

The Pope's delegate left Avignon on the thirteenth of August, 1560, in "disgust at the license" of the Dauphinese Calvinists.⁶² In the middle of October the people of Amboise and Tours stormed the prisons and released all those confined as agitators on account of religion.⁶³ The valley of the Loire seems to have been the storm center of these provincial uprisings. On account of a personal affront, Guise had taken an aversion to Tours and suggested that the king punish that town.

April, 1561, was signalized by Huguenot outbreaks at Pontoise and Beauvais in Picardy, at Angers and Le Mans in Poitou. Southern France was also disturbed. Chantonnay wrote of the organized character of the Huguenot agitations, especially at Toulouse, in June. By September the Protestants of Montpellier in Languedoc had formed a league with the motto: "No mass, no more than at Ge-

⁵⁹ Archives Nationales, K. 1493, No. 45.

⁶⁰ Great Britain, Cal. St. P. Ven., No. 146.

⁶¹ *Négociations toscanes*, vol. iii, p. 419.

⁶² Cal. St. P. For., No. 416.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, Ven., No. 200.

neva,"⁶⁴ and in December, 1561, riots occurred in Troyes, Orleans, Meaux, Vendome, Auxerre, Bourges, Lyons, Angers, Tours, Rouen, and Bazas.⁶⁵

The year 1562 was ushered in with many misgivings as to the feasibility of maintaining a state of peace in the kingdom. Like a thunder clap came the massacre of Vassy on the first of March. Manifestations of Huguenot activity before the actual outbreak of war were ominous. In Paris five hundred cavalry of Condé's retinue accompanied the Huguenot preacher to service daily, according to Bishop St. Croix.⁶⁶ Nineteen days after the massacre Chantonay informed the Spanish king that the nobles of Guyenne were complaining of the insolence of the heretics.⁶⁷ On Sunday, May 3, 1562, thirty-six Catholic churches in Rouen were sacked by the Protestants. Worship in the Norman towns of Havre, Rouen, Caen, and Bayeux, and in Dieppe in Picardy was suspended for six months.⁶⁸ Condé testifies that by May 23 there was not a recollection of the mass in Poitou and Dauphiny. The Catholics of the latter province and of Lyons fled to Savoy on the sixth of June.⁶⁹ Lyons had abolished mass on the first day of the same month. In October, 1562, the Huguenots of Rouen, under truce, demanded liberty of preaching and the permission to live according to their religion. Furthermore, they requested that the Edict of January be observed, and that they might preach freely in the cities all over France. The terms had included only worship outside the walls. In the counter proposals to Condé the Huguenots were to be allowed to practice their religion peaceably in their homes, but public worship not to be permitted even outside the towns. Political conditions caused a break in the negotiations, but on December 9 there were recorded the three articles proposed by Condé while he was besieging Paris. They foreshad-

⁶⁴ Archives Nationales, K. 1495, No. 47, June 19, 1561.

⁶⁵ Haton, vol. i, pp. 195-198.

⁶⁶ St. Croix, p. 94, March 19, 1562.

⁶⁷ Archives Nationales, K. 1497, No. 16, March 20, 1562.

⁶⁸ Floquet, vol. ii, p. 390.

⁶⁹ Condé, vol. ii, p. 20.

owed the outlines of future edicts of toleration, such as those of Amboise, Longjumeau, and Bergerac. First, there was to be liberty of conscience with free exercise of religion where demanded; secondly, security of life and property for all; thirdly, a free council to be summoned within six months, or if that were not feasible, a general assembly of the realm. As later modified the articles provided (1) that Calvinist preaching should be allowed in the suburbs of frontier towns, or in certain designated places; (2) that it should obtain only in those localities where it had been practised at the outbreak of hostilities; (3) exception to be made that it should be lawful for all gentlemen and nobles to have private services in their own homes; (4) that all persons dwelling in sections where preaching was not permitted should be allowed to proceed to the nearest towns for the exercise of religion without molestation. In reply the royal government stipulated that Paris and environs should be excepted, and that Lyons was not to be considered a frontier town.⁷⁰ In the following February of 1563 Poitou, Guyenne, La Rochelle, and Picardy rebelled again.⁷¹

The response to the Huguenot outbreaks was made with pen, tongue, and sword. Some of the Catholic writers instituted a literary crusade against the new faith. It was insinuated that the upper classes, especially the nobles, had left the established church because they were of a race of born sceptics. The new worship was destined to failure, for the reason that the religion of the higher strata of society was not often that of the lower. No leader dominated the rest, nor was there unity among the Protestant leaders. Writing a little later Pasquier declares that the "new religion first harassed, then lodged itself among us with furious insolence."⁷² He condemns theoretically the legality of wars of religion, but does not condemn war un-

⁷⁰ Great Britain, Cal. St. P. For., No. 1219, Dec. 9, 1562; Beza, vol. ii, p. 121.

⁷¹ Cal. St. For., No. 395, March 3, 1563.

⁷² Les Oeuvres d'Estienne Pasquier. 2 vols., Paris, 1723; vol. ii, p. 451.

dertaken with purely religious motives. Henry II is blamed for being proclaimed "protecteur de la liberté germanique"—that is, heresy—which he calls the profound cause of the civil wars. God punished France for protecting heresy abroad. The proper means of banishing the new sect would have been administrative and judicial persecution, less bloody than war but more effective in the long run. In this connection a Catholic eye witness of the struggle asserts that the wars were the judgment of God, just when France purposed to be most at ease.⁷³ Upon the principle that foreign wars are the best antidote for domestic divisions, the Huguenots, in order to attain full liberty of conscience, rendered themselves formidable by calling in the assistance of the Protestants of the Empire.

Reaction against violence was bound to ensue and a modern Catholic writer is doubtless correct in assuming that it would be difficult for the Reform to combat the embellished cathedrals, the patron saints, and the gold mitres of his church, all of which appealed to the imagination of the people. They might well ask if these were barbarians or Moslems who destroyed the images.⁷⁴ One of the Venetian ambassadors wrote home that it seemed a paradox to say that the war of 1561-1563 was useful to the king, but that such was the case, for when the Protestants began to pillage the poor people exclaimed: "Where have they seen that Christ commanded to steal and kill?"⁷⁵ Yet this should be compared with the record of the Catholic bishop who on February 28, 1562 (the day before the Vassy massacre), wrote that the Protestants "complain that they are treated like Jews and wish his majesty's permission to carry arms for defence."⁷⁶ Condé had previously remarked that the king was acting like a good doctor who recognized the malady without knowing the cause. "Sickness of spirit is not cured like that of the body."⁷⁷ It was true in France that

⁷³ Castelnau, vol. i, p. 30.

⁷⁴ Capefigue, *Histoire de la Réforme*, p. 271.

⁷⁵ *Relations . . . vénétiens*, vol. ii, p. 119.

⁷⁶ St. Croix, p. 64.

⁷⁷ Condé, vol. i, p. 542.

the activity of society was the inverse of the activity of the state. The progress of liberty in the heart of nations always corresponds to the weight of the yoke on their necks. "When the tyranny is an idea it is heavier than a sceptre, causing a more energetic revolt," wrote Dargaud. All France was full of libels and invectives, of responses and replies. The Huguenot historian Laplanche marvelled that the roots of Catholicism were not torn up by the torrent of writing and pamphlets.

The violent means undertaken by the Catholics prior to the civil wars to stamp out the Reform contributed greatly to its success. A few instances must suffice. On May 1, 1561, there occurred a rising in Arles against the Protestant minister.⁷⁸ The following day the Parlement of Toulouse issued an arrêt repressing all assemblies, congregations, and the carrying of arms,⁷⁹ and horrible punishments were meted out in that town. A Roman Catholic writer admits that the capitouls displayed no human traits,⁸⁰ and according to the records at the city hall they vied for honors of inhumanity. Bloody Montluc was astounded at the bloodier Parlement of Toulouse, yet though the Garonne ran crimson, a year later there were 20,000 Huguenots in the town. In Valence La Mothe-Gondrin beheaded Duval, a Protestant pastor and ex-Carmelite.⁸¹ So great was the hatred against the Protestants in Marseilles that on some mornings many would be found hanged in different sections of the city. The king in letters patent said that he had never intended to include Marseilles in the Edict in favor of the Huguenots, and that he desired no public or secret preaching in that metropolis.⁸² Partly in retaliation the Earl of Warwick turned all the people out of the towns on the Norman coast and seized the Catholic shipping after peace had been signed, believing that Charles IX could not raise an arma-

⁷⁸ Archives Nationales, K. 1494, No. 83.

⁷⁹ K. 1495, No. 35.

⁸⁰ Aldeguier, p. 396.

⁸¹ Arnaud, Dauphiné, p. 55.

⁸² Ruffi, Histoire de la ville de Marseilles, vol. i, p. 338.

ment.⁸³ The social results were profound. In 1562 husbandry was almost entirely neglected in France, while the poor people fled from their homes rather than be exposed to both enemies. Trades and the mechanical arts were abandoned, for merchants and tradesmen closed their shops and joined the armies. Justice could not be administered, since force and violence reigned. Yet the number of Protestants continued for a time to increase.

The planting of the Protestant churches remains for consideration. The Romorantin edict of May, 1560, and the supplementary decree of August drew back into France many of those who had left the country. Some of these were ministers who gave new life to the party. Between 1555 and 1566 Geneva sent one hundred pastors, among them William Farel, who returned to Gap in November of 1561 after an absence of thirty-eight years.⁸⁴ In the king's council, convened at Fontainebleau on August 20, 1560, the Huguenots demanded churches of their own. Admiral Coligny presented petitions, one to the king, the other to his mother, in which the sovereigns were requested to grant two places of worship in two parts of France for greater convenience, in order that private congregations might assemble without molestation.⁸⁵ After the death of Francis II on December 5, 1560, a great number of refugees returned from Germany. The declaration of toleration by Charles IX, which followed on January 7, 1561, was so liberal an edict that Paris soon abounded with Huguenot preachers. Philip of Spain was informed on the ninth of March that there was secret preaching at Fontainebleau and in the woods around.⁸⁶ On April 13 the Bishop of Valence preached before the queen with the proposal that the Bible should be read by every one in his own language and the Psalms chanted.⁸⁷ Nine days later the Spanish ambas-

⁸³ Castelnau, vol. v, p. 248.

⁸⁴ Arnaud, Dauphiné, p. 81.

⁸⁵ Great Britain, Cal. St. P. Ven., No. 195, Aug. 30, 1560.

⁸⁶ Archives Nationales, K. 1494, No. 32.

⁸⁷ Condé, vol. ii, p. 3.

sador Chantonney bluntly informed Catherine that some of the bishops of the established church should not be allowed to reside in their parishes simply because they could not compete with the regular ministers of the Huguenots. Through the deputies of the churches dispersed throughout the realms of France the Protestants presented on June 11, 1561, a request to the king,⁸⁸ in which they declared that the reports of their refusing to pay taxes were false, and begged to be permitted to build churches. The response was to the effect that the July edict of Romorantin was to obtain until the Colloquy of Poissy, set for the summer of 1561. Directly after the colloquy even the Catholics admitted that the Reform was making great progress. Chantonney wrote to the duke of Parma that "Beza preached yesterday the most abominable sermon ever made, and the people flocked in by the doors and the windows with marvellous eagerness."⁸⁹ On the last day of August he confessed to de Tisnacq that the Huguenot preachers there had more assurance than the priests. The request made by the deputies of the new religion to have temples, probably at St. Germain en Laye, was handed in on January 22, 1562, five days subsequent to the famous edict of toleration. Two months later matters had gone so far that there was a remonstrance by the Catholics against placards placed in public view on Parisian street corners by the Huguenots.⁹⁰

In which province did the Huguenot movement spread most rapidly? The gospel showed its first fruits and power in the seaboard provinces. Lower Poitou and Normandy were the chief Protestant provinces. Poitou, with its towns of Moncontour, Chatellerault, La Roche-sur-Yon, Poitiers, Niort and Lusignan, had the most adherents and began the agitation for a book of discipline. Normandy, for its size, was probably the most Protestant province, for there Calvinism not only obtained in the ports and "good" towns,

⁸⁸ Archives Nationales, K. 1495, No. 42.

⁸⁹ Bersier, Coligny, p. 267.

⁹⁰ Condé, vol. iii, p. 100.

but in the country areas as well.⁹¹ The coast trade with England and Holland undoubtedly explains Protestantism in Lower Normandy, but the reasons of its prevalence on an extensive scale in the rural portion are quite obscure. The next to the southwest was Brittany, where Andelot, Coligny's brother, was endeavoring to consolidate the Huguenot development. Adjoining Brittany and Poitou was the little division of Aunis, where the Reform was introduced by several who had been in Brazil with Villegagnon. Here also lay Saintonge, in whose cities of Brouage, Saintes, and St. Jean d'Angely preaching was taking place. Just across the border, in the inland province of Angoumois, was Cognac, whose Protestant church was formed November 1, 1558. As to Guyenne, on the coast of the Bay of Biscay, Montluc said that in this large province Huguenotism was prevalent among the peasants.⁹² Within its confines were located the important subdivisions of Perigord, Quercy, and Rouergue. The governor of Guyenne had joined the ranks of the Huguenots, along with Bouillon of Normandy and other nobles who came out openly at the death of Henry II. In Gascony there were evidences of the penetration of Protestantism into the country districts to the extent that four hundred churches had the liberty of preaching without fear of punishment.⁹³ The adjacent province of Béarn was rapidly won to the new religion. The seaboard provinces in general were peopled by brave and hardy people, though naturally addicted to luxury and excess. As a result of the religious movement, however, the artist Palissy reported that "banquets and superfluities of coiffure ceased: there were fewer scandals and murders, and less licentious songs and debauched men at the inns."⁹⁴

Provence on the Mediterranean and Dauphiny on its northern border were Huguenot strongholds. Both provinces fattened on the commerce from Italy through the

⁹¹ Crottet, p. 28.

⁹² *Commentaires et lettres de Montluc*, vol. iv, p. 115.

⁹³ *Archives Nationales*, K. 1495, No. 49, July 1, 1561.

⁹⁴ Crottet, p. 65.

Alpine passes and cleared through Lyons, the capital of Calvinist printing in France. Upper Languedoc included the divisions of Cevennes, Vivarais, and Velay. The piety of the Protestant Cevennes and other hill countries of the south of France was phenomenal in the sight of foreigners. No stretch of the imagination could have classified the citizens of Vivarais, north of the Cevennes, as devoted to the crown and Roman Catholicism.⁹⁵ Their neighbors of Velay who were Huguenots met in the open with butchers, masons, or tavern keepers as preachers.⁹⁶

In Lyonnais and Forez, just west of the frontier of Savoy, there were few great lords to impose their domination. The nobility was poor and there were few great families. Barring Lyons the inhabitants were stanch Catholics. Lyons for a long time had fought the temporal domination of its archbishops and, more resolutely even than Germany, disliked ecclesiastical government. Altogether the city offered a marvelous field for the Reform, and might have been the capital of surgery as well as of printing had not Rome imposed obstacles. Owing to the restrictions in the profession there were only five surgeons in Lyons to fight the plague in 1564, although it had the oldest and best hospital in Europe at the time. Protestants were not allowed at first to be pharmacists, but this prohibition was removed after they began to practise at Poitiers and Niort in Poitou. Ramus said it cost 881 livres in 1561 to have a doctor or surgeon.⁹⁷ Notwithstanding the many obstructions the number of Protestants increased. Lyons and the Dauphiny constituted one ecclesiastical province and the churches held four provincial synods in 1561, beginning at the former town on April 13. The second and third synods were held on the last day of July and the eighth of September. At the fourth synod (November 25) the new churches of Macon, Châlon, Beaune, and Buxy, in Burgundy, and all of those in the Comtat-Venaissin, including Avignon, were incorpor-

⁹⁵ Steyert, vol. iii, p. 118.

⁹⁶ Mandet, Velay, p. 27.

⁹⁷ Duparcq, Charles IX, p. 9.

ated.⁹⁸ There are evidences of the penetration of Protestantism into country districts elsewhere, as in Orléannais, Nivernais, Blésois, the diocese of Nîmes, and even in isolated portions of Champagne in northern France. The ecclesiastical department of Champagne and Brie included Troyes, Chalon, Melun, Auxerre, Chaumont, Mezieres, Reims, Sens, Langres, Sedan, and Meaux.⁹⁹

Fragmentary traces of churches are also found other than those which have been previously described. St. Lô, Dieppe, and Caen, in Normandy, dared to have public preaching. The movement in Tours awakened the resentment of the Duke of Guise.¹⁰⁰ Of Orléans Minister Faget wrote Calvin on December 15, 1558, that everything was prospering. In Paris the consecration of a child was the occasion of the establishment of the first Protestant church.¹⁰¹ As early as September, 1555, M. de la Ferrière, from Maine, moved the election of Jean Maçon (de Launay) as a minister, though the candidate was but twenty-four years of age.¹⁰² The chancellor, L'Hôpital, later permitted public preaching in the Porte St. Antoine.¹⁰³ The mother of the Prince of Porcien opened her palace to religious assemblies, while the guild halls of the city were free to Calvin's preachers. Beza stated that after the Edict of Romorantin the Reformers met in barns at Montpellier, Rouen, Nîmes, Meaux, Auxerre, Castres, and outside the walls at Angers, Sens, Bordeaux, Bourges, Grenoble, and towns in Brittany and Normandy.¹⁰⁴ The new church at Lanjon had Morel as pastor. Otrand was minister at Pons. The remarkable Charles Léopard began at Arvert, in Saintonge, in February, 1560. At St. Just nearly everyone abjured the Roman church and new edifices sprang up in the neighborhood.

⁹⁸ Capefigue, *Histoire de la Réforme*, p. 94.

⁹⁹ Blackburn, vol. i, p. 86.

¹⁰⁰ Laplanche, vol. i, p. 234.

¹⁰¹ Lacombe, p. 19.

¹⁰² Blackburn, vol. i, p. 86.

¹⁰³ Merki, *L'Amiral de Coligny, la maison Châtillon et la révolte protestante*. Paris, 1909, p. 256.

¹⁰⁴ Beza, vol. i, p. 600.

particularly at Marennes.¹⁰⁵ The first church at Nîmes was planted by Mauget, in 1560. Audiences, who were compelled to meet in the daytime, averaged four thousand in number.¹⁰⁶ There is an account of a sermon in the same town delivered on the sixth of October, 1560, by Vinet, a remarkable orator of fifty years. He adopted the Reform en masse, to become effective on May 1, 1562. This was in emulation of Milhau and St. Foye, in Agenois.¹⁰⁷

Suriano wrote to Venice that "thirty cursed sects" had sprung up, who argued that the king's authority did not extend to their conscience. He lamented that even in the States-General speeches against the Catholics were allowed. France in his opinion was approaching a popular state like the Swiss republic, on account of the new doctrine. "Le sujet n'est pas obligé d'obéir à son prince, lorsqu'il commande de choses qui ne sont point contenues dans l'Evangile."¹⁰⁸ Indeed, in church polity the Protestants were carrying the change further than the Reformers elsewhere in Europe. In England and Germany the Protestants still adhered to many of the institutions of the medieval church, retaining episcopates and inferior clergy as deacons, archdeacons, canons, curates, besides clinging to the vestments, ornaments, and canonical habits.

As to names for the reformers there has been some confusion. Among the thirty sects mentioned by Suriano it has been a common error to identify "Huguenot" with "Vaudois," but there seems to have been no historical connection between the two. The Vaudois were almost a memory when the term "Huguenot" was first applied by the Comte de Caylus. In the despatch written on November 18, 1560, by this colonel of legionaries of Languedoc sent to chastise the rebels we read: "Il n'y a plus de ces seditieux huguenaulx rassemblees dans les Cevennes."¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵ Crottet, p. 42.

¹⁰⁶ Corbière, *Histoire de l'Eglise réformée de Montpellier*, p. 10.

¹⁰⁷ Arnaud, *Dauphiné*, p. 114.

¹⁰⁸ Suriano, p. 378.

¹⁰⁹ Devic et Vaissete, *Languedoc*, vol. xi, p. 347.

Among various explanations of the origin of the name the Catholic Davila asserted that the Calvinists in Tours met near Hugo's gate; hence, "Huguenots."¹¹⁰ Whatever the origin it was a nickname applied by the Romanists, yet the latter in great numbers thought their own name "Catholic" fatal to Christianity. Under this title had not Germany broken away under Leo X; England, under Clement VII; France, under Pius IV? The death of the latter pope, five weeks after Henry II, was welcomed as a deliverance both by Romans and foreigners. Of great talents, he ruled in an extremely critical period. Even the term "catholiquement" in the various edicts entailed endless controversy and confusion.

The high water mark of the French Reformation was reached in the terms of the peace of Amboise, March 19, 1563. Condé was to succeed Navarre. The Reform was to be permitted everywhere save in Paris. The king was to appoint one town in each bailiwick where religion might be preached. All gentlemen holding fiefs might have preaching in their homes, while nobles enjoying high justice could have preaching on their estates. Property confiscated from either church should be restored.¹¹¹

¹¹⁰ Davila (Henrico C.), *Historia de las guerras civiles de Francia*. Madrid, 1651, p. 64. The word "Huguenot" is thought by others to be a corruption of "Eidgenossen," confederates.

¹¹¹ Isambert, vol. xiv, p. 135.

CHAPTER V

FRIENDS AND FOES AT HOME AND ABROAD

The wars of religion in France present a most complete instance of the intersection of home and foreign influences. This condition was largely attributable to the increasing means of expeditious communication, among which the least observable but the most potent was the royal mail. Louis XI ascending the throne just one century before the outbreak of the first war of religion, had established royal postmen. The astute policy of this monarch included land or sea supremacy in the eastern Mediterranean, despite the handicap of Moslem domination of Constantinople. At the advent of Louis' son, Charles VIII, France boasted 230 relays of mail carriers. In 1495, the very year during which Charles entered Naples without opposition, the mail service was extended to Rome. The Duc de Bourbon, writing from Paris to the Italian metropolis on the 15th of December, 1494, received a reply four weeks later on the 12th of January.¹ An ordinance pertinent to our subject is that of Francis II, May 29, 1560, concerning the mails.² It ordered that the route to Dauphiny, a Mediterranean province, should be by way of Lyons, Grenoble, and Villeneuve. It fixed the wages and number of carriers thus: thirty-six on the route from Paris to Bordeaux; twenty-four, Paris to Metz; eighteen, Lyons to Marseilles; seventeen each, Bordeaux to St. Jean de Luz, Paris to Navarre, Blois to Nantes, Boulogne to Paris; nine, Paris to Peronne. These royal carriers were just beginning to be entrusted with the mail of individuals. Until the middle of the century messengers of universities or of merchant corporations carried

¹ Foville, *La Transformation des Moyens de Transport*, p. 184.

² Limoges, p. 416.

private mail.³ Fourteen years after the first war of religion the edict of 1576 regulated the departures and fixed the prices of letters and their answers, and charged fifteen deniers for a package of more than one ounce. The effect of the improved means of communication upon the spread of the Reform can scarcely be exaggerated.

One of the foreign countries with which the Huguenots were in correspondence was Flanders where some of the foremost friends of the Reform were to be found. The similarity between the Flemish movement and the progress of the political Protestants is very close. The connection between politics and religion in France and the Low Countries was reciprocal. The regent of Flanders and Granvella, the Spanish ambassador, implored Philip II to come to the Netherlands in order to crush the heretics, but the monarch pleaded ignorance of the language and poverty. Meanwhile the Orange party practised so successfully with Margaret of Parma that the regent inclined toward conciliation instead of coercion. She proposed to convoke the States-General in order to remedy the evils, a program which the nobles enthusiastically advocated. The latter demanded the recall of Granvella, who was presently ordered to Madrid. Granvella, in order to suppress heresy in its two most active centers, proposed to imitate the method used at Paris, by exacting a profession of faith, together with a pledge to observe the laws, of all citizens who desired to remain in the city. Recalcitrants were to be disarmed, compelled to sell their property, one-third of which must be confiscated for municipal and military expenses, and then banished.* The prince of Orange protested vehemently.

In 1563 the activity of the French Protestants in Flanders became a matter of serious apprehension to the Roman Catholics. Demonstrations at Tournay and Valenciennes became so bold in May, 1563, that it took six companies

³ Pigeonneau, p. 76.

⁴ Gachard, *Correspondance de Philippe II sur les Pays Bas*. 4 vols., Brussels, 1848-1859; vol. i, p. 277. Philip to Alva, Dec. 14, 1563.

of infantry to keep the Huguenots overawed. The latter city was the most aggressive in the province and was proud of the largest number of converts.⁵ Brussels, too, boasted a great church. The Protestants were especially numerous in the Walloon provinces, where there were many ministers from England and Geneva. By November, 1563, it could be seen that a common purpose actuated the important provinces of Flanders, Artois, Holland, Utrecht, and Zeeland. Chantonay cautioned Margaret of Parma to be on her guard against the combination of Dutch rebels and French Protestants.⁶

Adjacent to Flanders lay the three bishoprics which were early famous for their interest in the new faith. The laxness of episcopal discipline in the first half of the sixteenth century contributed to this spirit, and finally led to a Catholic reaction. Philip of Spain was anxious to see France despoiled of Metz. On December 9, 1561, the English correspondent recorded that there was some anxiety in France lest the German Empire might seize the Bishoprics.⁷ Ferdinand, however, in addition to activities in Turkish and Muscovite quarters, was at odds with the Pope over the Council of Trent, and was friendly towards France. Metz inclined more towards Calvinism than to Lutheranism; under French domination it passed definitely over to Calvinism. Vieilleville, the governor, was moderate in his policy, and granted the Protestants a church in the interior of the town. During the first Civil War the Metz Protestants remained quiet, but soon after Farel visited the city for the third time and stirred up its religious activity. Charles, cardinal of Lorraine, suppressed Huguenot preaching in the diocese and closed the church, and upon Charles IX's tour of the provinces in 1564 the building was demolished. One of the motives for the support of the Protestant cause by John Casimir, prince palatine, was the promise offered by the Huguenots that he would be given the government of

⁵ *Papiers d'état du cardinal Granvelle*, vol. vii, p. 270.

⁶ *Archives Nationales*, K. 1497, Nos. 30, 33.

⁷ *Great Britain, Cal. St. P. For.*, No. 712.

Metz. Another bishopric was Trèves-on-Moselle, eighty-six miles south of Cologne. The see of Trèves, which claims to include the oldest town in modern Germany, had appeared as an archbishopric in the ninth century. Among its most powerful archbishops who attained considerable temporal power was Richard von Greiffenklau, who as early as 1531 distinguished himself by his opposition to the incipient Reformation. Even the cardinal of Lorraine, however, was unable to cope with the influence upon the Trevarans of ministers from Switzerland and Champagne.⁸ In the bishopric of Strasburg the Reform found ready acceptance, its foremost champion there being Martin Bucer. During the ensuing period of religious dissension the city was skillfully piloted by the "stadtmeister" Jacob Sturm. The church at Strasburg was included in the important Schmalkalden League of Protestant churches, organized in 1531, and the period intervening before the first war of religion saw the Strasburg congregation rise superior to persecution.

The three Scandinavian countries were early bulwarks of Protestantism and, like the other neighbors of France to the northeast, supplied ministers and money to the Reform movement. The Danes proposed that a French prince should marry the sister of King Christian III, while they hoped to induce the sovereign himself to become the fiancé of Mary Stuart.⁹ Protestantism would have profited by these arrangements, for the father of the Danish king, Frederick I of the house of Oldenburg, had accepted the Protestant faith in the year 1525.

The conditions which neutralized Protestant England's position in relation to the French Reform have been discussed in an earlier chapter. Looking elsewhere both friendly and hostile sentiments might be found in Switzerland and Ger-

⁸ British Quarterly Review, July, 1875: article "Augusta Treverorum," by E. A. Freeman.

⁹ La Place, P. de, *Commentaires de l'état de la religion et de la république sous Henri II, François II et Charles IX.* Paris, 1565, p. 122.

many. The term "neutral" could more reasonably be applied to the latter. In 1499 the Swiss had practically renounced their allegiance to the emperor, the temporal chief of the world according to medieval theory. In the sixteenth century a great number of them did the same by the world's spiritual chief, the pope. The scene of the revolt was Zurich and the leader Ulrich Zwingli was both a political and a religious reformer. He was ardently in favor of securing for Bern and Zurich the chief power in the confederation, because of their importance and size, and can be considered the founder of Swiss neutrality toward other states. At the famous meeting at Marburg in October, 1529, Zwingli tried to come to an agreement with Luther on the subject of the eucharist but failed, and the gulf between the Swiss and German Reformations was widened. Just before the first war of religion in France the Counter Reformation, or reaction in favor of the old faith, began to make itself felt in the confederation. Cardinal Charles Borromeo, whose dispatches have been quoted previously, lent his efforts to that effect upon entering upon his archbishopric of Milan in 1560. Besides this nephew of Pope Pius IV, Ludwig Pfyffer, commander-in-chief of the Swiss mercenaries in France from 1562 to 1570, accomplished so much towards the religious reaction at home that he was termed the "Swiss King."

In 1559 the Swiss cantons numbered thirteen. The seven Catholic members were Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Zug, Lucerne, Freiburg, and Soleure. On the side of the Reform were Zurich, Glarus, Basel, Appenzell, Schaffhausen, and Bern, which alone was thirty times as large as the smallest Catholic canton and quadruple the size of the largest. On the 29th of April, 1562, the Huguenots endeavored to persuade the Protestant cantons to prevent the Catholic states from supporting the Duke of Guise.¹⁰ The Bernese told Condé that they, among other Protestant cantons, would not suffer the levying of any soldiers to fight

¹⁰ Great Britain, Cal. St. P. Ven., No. 285.

against the Protestants. On the other hand, the Papist cantons, at a meeting of the Swiss Diet on May 22, 1562, at Soleure not five miles from the Bernese border, offered to send 6000 infantry to the aid of Charles IX.¹¹ One group of states promised fifteen ensigns, who arrived at Blois on August seventh, after using the Franche-Comté route, but other cantons of Catholic persuasion balked at assisting France, pleading penury. The fact that Bern acted as a natural barrier between Paris and all the Catholic cantons except Freiburg was an element of great weight. The troops of the solid east central group of five Papal cantons had to make a wide detour, no less than did the auxiliaries of the five widely scattered smaller Protestant states.

The leading Protestant princes of Germany included the elector of Saxony, the margraves of Baden and Brandenburg, the landgraves of Hesse and Thuringia, the Count Palatine, the prince of Anhalt, and the dukes of Wurtemberg, Mecklenberg Holstein, and Zweibrücken.¹² All were Lutheran except the Calvinist Count Palatine and the landgrave of Thuringia. Confirmation of stories of grave differences between the two Protestant denominations in Germany, circulated chiefly by the Guisards, is lacking. In border towns of both countries theological disputes were inevitable. Castelnau reported a brawl in Frankfort between the Lutherans and Calvinists, both of whose assemblies happened to be in session there.¹³ The German princes tried to prevent soldiers leaving for France. Wurtemberg allowed none by way of Montbéliard, while Strasburg forbade enlistments under heavy penalties. The bishops of the Rhine kept quiet. Hesse stopped cavalry recruiting. Only Lorraine and the three bishoprics permitted unimpeded enlistments. Roggendorf was a famous pro-Guise recruiter. The turncoat Navarre on April 8, 1562, engaged 1200 German mounted pistoliers and an equal num-

¹¹ *Revue Historique*, vol. xcvi, p. 305.

¹² Letter of F. Hotman, December 31, 1560.

¹³ Castelnau, p. 153.

ber of horse, which arrived at Blois four months later.¹⁴ Yet twelve days subsequent to the hiring of these mercenaries, the Count Palatine answered one of Navarre's letters, pledging goodwill to the Reform in France.¹⁵ Four weeks before the mails could bring this reply, the vacillating Antoine of Navarre had cast the die by attending mass on Palm Sunday, March 22, 1562. Condé, his brother, proposed to the German Protestant princes that if the Guises tried to enlist in Germany, measures should be taken to check the effort; that if the Guisards armed against Condé and Coligny and were supported by Spain, Protestant Germany should send assistance. On the second of May, many of the Lutheran princes of Germany advocated an open league of all Protestant states for mutual protection in the hope that the mere knowledge of such a coalition would restrain their adversaries.¹⁶ Men from Saxony and Brandenburg were recruiting for the Catholic armies in France, with Frankfort as the distributing point.¹⁷ There were no regular Catholic armies as yet, but only mercenaries under famous captains. On the 7th of May, Wurtemberg replied to the messengers of Condé that he had commanded his subjects not to enter the service of foreign princes.¹⁸ On the other hand, the English ambassador was authority for the statement that soldiers were easily enlisted in the bishopric of Trèves, on account of its proximity to the French kingdom.¹⁹

In protesting to the French government against importing Germans to man the Catholic armies, the Protestant princes were at the outset under a definite handicap. On account of the machinations of Guise, for over a month the envoys of the Count Palatine, Zweibrücken, Wurtemberg, Hesse, and Baden were unprovided with safe conducts.²⁰

¹⁴ *Mémoires de Théo. Agrippa D'Aubigné*, II, p. 33, note; *Archives Nationales*, K. 1494, No. 105, Oct. 28, 1561.

¹⁵ Condé, vol. iii, p. 100.

¹⁶ Great Britain, Cal. St. P. For., No. 11, May 2, 1562.

¹⁷ Lavissee et Rambaud, *Histoire Générale de France*, vol. v, p. 128.

¹⁸ Condé, vol. iii, p. 436.

¹⁹ Great Britain, Cal. St. P. For., No. 414, May 19, 1562.

²⁰ Great Britain, Cal. St. P. For., 674, May 19, 1562.

The same English despatch of June 13, 1562, carried the news that these princes had put Roggendorf under their ban. A paragraph of Catholic origin of July 20 added that the same princes warned that they would attack Brabant should the Catholics initiate any repressive measures against the Huguenots of the Low Countries.²¹ Heidelberg completely snubbed D'Oysel, Charles IX's agent, when he asked for aid late in July.²² On August 26, Louis of Condé thanked the landgrave of Hesse for his help of the Protestant propaganda. Candor compels the statement that the Roman Catholics as a rule were unsuccessful beyond the Rhine and fortunate in Switzerland and the episcopal states.

The implacable and uncompromising enemies of the Reform abroad were powerful if not numerous. They should not be enumerated without mentioning several smaller ones. Among these Brittany, which opposed equally the French Reformation and the Revolution, had been a part of France only since 1532. Henry II and Charles IX were kings of France and dukes of Brittany, the heiress Anne of Brittany having been forced to marry Charles VIII.²³ The Bretons may more reasonably be considered as "foreign foes" when it is remembered that they retained a separate parliament until 1789. Even the small kingdoms of Greece and Albania sent troops all the way to France to fight for the Duke of Guise.²⁴ This is no less surprising than amusing, since from 1453 until the end of the eighteenth century almost all the occasions on which the Greek people appear on the page of history are episodes in which they were butchered or sold into slavery. Greece in 1560 was under the sway of foreigners. Mohammed II a century before had personally conquered the kingdoms of Albania, Elboea, Greece proper, and part of the Peloponnesus, but the Lion of St. Mark, which floated over many of the Aegean islands, was soon in evidence in Athens. The Venetians owned large posses-

²¹ St. Croix, p. 176.

²² Cal. St. P. For., No. 414, Aug. 3, 1562.

²³ de Calan, *La Bretagne au 16e siècle*. Nantes, 1908, p. 1.

²⁴ Lavissee et Rambaud, vol. v, p. 128.

sions in Greece and Albania and doubtless were responsible for recruiting the Hellenes for the French Catholic forces. As early as 1552 a Moorish ambassador of the King of Argos reached Paris.²⁵ Francis I started the connection with the Turks, but the death of Henry II in 1559 had ended for the time being the treaties with the Sublime Porte.

Savoy was the firm friend of the established church in France. Duke Emmanuel Philibert of Savoy established in 1557 at the victory of St. Quentin his reputation as one of the most brilliant generals of the century. The peace of Cateau-Cambrésis restored to him his states with certain exceptions withheld by Spain and France. Previously the duke had been governor of the Low Countries. One of the conditions of the treaty provided for the marriage of Emmanuel with the lovely Margaret of France, sister of Henry II. On June 30, 1559, the date set for the double marriage of Philip of Spain and Elizabeth of France, and of Emmanuel and Margaret, Henry II was mortally wounded in a tournament. To make it more funereal the ceremony, at Henry's orders, occurred at midnight, and possibly the scene was prophetic.

The French marshal Vieilleville bewailed the aforesaid treaty with Savoy. "What will become of those fine parlements of Turin and Chambéry, and the chambres des comptes which were instituted by Henry II? They all speak French. The duke of Savoy [who lived until 1580] will soon wipe out the French glory of thirty years. The chance to obtain Milan is lost. These terms help Philip II, who will soon thunder at the gates of Lyons, our new frontier."²⁶ As the fruit of Chantonay's interview with Moreta, the Savoyard ambassador, early in April, 1562, when he discussed a possible restoration to the duchy of certain Piedmontese fortresses held by Philip II, Emmanuel Philibert offered to the Catholic army of France 10,000 foot soldiers and 600 cavalry. Three thousand of the in-

²⁵ Bourciez, p. 51.

²⁶ Carloix, *Mémoires de la vie de Francois de Scepeaux, sieur de Vieilleville*, 1527-1591. 5 vols., Paris, 1757; vol. i, p. 28.

fantry and half the horse were to be armed at the duke's own expense.²⁷ Just four weeks later the duke proffered 6000 infantry and 600 horsemen, promising to pay one-half their maintenance for four months.²⁸

In Rome there was an unalterable determination to trample down heresy at any cost. Spurred on by the colloquy of Poissy, the consistory of the Roman Curia resolved on October 10, 1561, to resist the Protestant movement in France. On the eighth day of the following June the constable Montmorency appealed to Rome through Santa Croce for a body of soldiers and a loan of 200,000 écus.²⁹ The pope offered 50,000 crowns per month. Venice, too, was uncompromisingly anti-Protestant, though Catherine de Medicis had refused a league with the city of canals.³⁰ French traffic with Venice had diminished when the silk industry was inaugurated at home by the Huguenots, and when spices were introduced from Lisbon.³¹ The Venetians, however, were kept closely in touch with the progress of the French Reform through the assiduity of their ambassadors, upon whose despatches historians of this period largely rely. Genoa seems to have taken but little part in French affairs during the sixteenth century. The Genoese rulers had for a time exhibited great inferiority, falling now under the power of France, now of Milan, until the national spirit appeared to regain its ancient vigor in 1528. In that year Andrew Doria was successful in throwing off the French domination and restoring the old form of government. A mariner of Genoa not long before had given to Spain that new world which might have become the possession of his native state had Genoa been able to supply him with the ships and crews which he so ardently begged her to furnish. In the first war of religion Genoa furnished crossbowmen who had formerly fought in the western king-

²⁷ Archives Nationales, K. 1497, No. 21, April 8, 1562.

²⁸ Condé, vol. ii, p. 20.

²⁹ Archives curieuses de l'histoire de France (Cimber and Danjou). Paris, 1834, vol. vi, p. 86.

³⁰ St. Croix, 176, July 20, 1562.

³¹ Levasseur, Commerce, vol. i, p. 205.

dom. The republic's star was setting. Her Aegean and Syrian fortresses were being abandoned, although many exist even to-day around the Mediterranean basin, even to the summit of Mt. Gerizim in the Holy Land. France was to be overrun with the ferocious German cavalry because the inevitable mercenaries of the decadent Italian states were needed at home.

Philip II of Spain has been considered by many historians the real pope of the period of 1560 rather than the incumbent at Rome. "Whoever wishes to be well acquainted with the morbid anatomy of governments," wrote Macaulay, "whoever wishes to know how great states may be made feeble and wretched, should study the history of Spain."³² The empire of Philip II was undoubtedly one of the most powerful and splendid that ever existed in the world. In Europe he ruled Portugal, Spain, the Netherlands on both sides of the Rhine, Franche-Comté, Roussillon, the Milanese, and the two Sicilies, Parma, Tuscany, and the smaller states of Italy were completely dependent upon him. In Asia the Spanish monarch was master of the Philippines, and of all those rich settlements which the Portuguese had made on the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar, in the Malacca peninsula, and in the spice islands of the Eastern Archipelago. In America his dominions extended on each side of the equator into the temperate zone. The influence of Philip on the continent was as tremendous as that of Napoleon, who in his day longed in vain for the ships, colonies, and commerce which had proved both bane and blessing to Spain of the sixteenth century. Spanish ascendancy had been gained by unquestionable superiority in all the arts of policy and war. The Swiss phalanx and French chivalry were no match for the Spanish infantry. Nevertheless, more sombre and gloomier than his Escorial palace-dungeon Philip even seemed born old and sad.

The support of Philip was a vital factor in French politics. His wife, however, even though she was a daughter

³² Macaulay (T. B.), *Essay on Lord Mahon's History of the War of Succession in Spain*.

of French royalty, had no influence over the sullen king.³³ On the other hand, many French noblemen took up arms against their government because they did not relish Catherine de Medicis' unpatriotic dealing with Philip.³⁴ Her vacillating policy wavered between fear of Spain and anxiety on account of the Huguenot insurrection. Political dictates demanded that Philip prevent heresy in France, for the latter lay like a wedge between Spain and the Spanish domain of Burgundy and Flanders. The monarch feared the results of French national councils and assemblies such as that of Meaux. The latter, for example, had been called by Charles IX for three reasons: hearing the grievances of everyone, composing the religious troubles of the kingdom, and solacing the people on account of tributes.³⁵ Such results would be the antithesis of the ends desired by Philip. To forefend the proposed national council he offered as early as September 28, 1560, to give the French aid at his own expense in suppressing all rebellion and schism. In the southwest four thousand infantry were stationed near Bayonne, together with a large body of Spanish cavalry. At Narbonne, on the Barcelona-Perpignan highway, five miles from the Mediterranean, two thousand more troops were available. In Flanders 3500 infantry were at the disposal of the French government.³⁶ Ten weeks subsequent to this offer the frail Francis II succumbed before a complication of maladies. Philip sent De Manrique ostensibly to congratulate the new young ruler Charles IX, but really to win over Montmorency, to steel the French nation against the Protestants, to deter any movement towards a national council, and to urge the marriage of Guise's niece, Mary of Scots, to the Spanish king's son, Don Carlos.

Chantonnay concocted a scheme to put an end to Catherine's moderation. At his suggestion Philip wrote a common letter to Guise, Montmorency, the duke of Montpelier,

³³ Baschet, *La Diplomatie Vénétienne*, p. 238.

³⁴ Duparcq, *Histoire de Henri II*, p. 107.

³⁵ Laplanche, vol. ii, p. 63.

³⁶ Great Britain, Cal. St. P. Ven., No. 199.

the chancellor, St. André, and Brissac and a joint note to the cardinals Tournon and Lorraine. To the constable Montmorency and St. André, however, he wrote separate letters, proposing a combination of reactionary forces. Urged by his Roman Catholic wife, Madeleine of Savoy, the constable formed on the 6th of April, 1561, just four months after the accession of the boy king, Charles, a triumvirate consisting of Navarre, St. André, and Montmorency. Under this act of Spanish conception it was planned to keep France in a deluge of blood until the heretics were wiped out. Thus the cordon of Iberian influence was tightening about France. Philip's armada patrolled the coasts. On the Flemish, Burgundian, Béarnese, and Lyonnais frontiers, the kingdom riven by religious controversy was menaced by the Spaniard. So domineering was that power that when a misunderstanding arose between England and France concerning the city of Havre, Alva and Alava brazenly proposed that this second seaport of France be temporarily entrusted to Philip, who would mediate between the two countries.³⁷

Within the borders of France itself there were several important personages who were hostile to the Reform and whose influence must be considered. Foremost was Catherine de Medicis daughter of the Florentine ruler Lorenzo, and born in central Italy in 1519. When but fifteen days old her mother died, and in less than three more weeks the infant was left an orphan. At the age of fourteen her destiny was settled when she was married to the duke of Orléans, later Henry II. During the lifetime of her husband the queen exerted no political influence, but on the contrary was hated as an Italian.³⁸ Henry was ever completely under the influence of Diana of Poitiers, and the short reign of Francis II was dominated by his wife Mary Stuart and her uncles, the Guises. Therefore, during these two reigns, from 1547 to 1560, Catherine was living a pas-

³⁷ *L'Ambassade de St. Sulpice*, pp. 137, 151.

³⁸ *Relations . . . vénétiens*, vol. i, p. 105.

sive, but observant life. In person she possessed big eyes and thick lips, was fond of good living and ate irregularly. The Venetian ambassador chronicled that the queen was never still, and was noted especially as a great huntress, yet retained an olive complexion in spite of much exercise.³⁹ At fifty she walked so fast that no one at court was willing to follow.⁴⁰ From the period of the peace of Amboise, Catherine continued to fill her subjects with astonishment. Her industry in public business was amazing. She even followed the Catholic armies, often on foot, and revelled in sieges.

"The famous Roman temporizer, Fabius Cunctator," wrote the ambassador of Venice, "would have recognized his daughter in this astute woman of Etruria."⁴¹ For fear of being sent back to Florence or staying in France without influence Catherine for a quarter of a century played the two parties of religion against each other, but her "bridge policy," instead of uniting France, kept it divided. With monotonous recurrence it happened that the queen marred or ruined the progress she had made with the aid of one party's support by her own envious fear of that party's predominance. In the life of the "most respectable bad woman on record" there were four determining elements: Guise, the Protestants, Philip, and Diana of Poitiers.⁴²

The councilor Dubourg was burned for heresy in spite of intercession by the Catholic wife of Montmorency, of Marguerite of Savoy, and of the Count Palatine, two days before Christmas, 1559. Directly afterward Catherine saw an opportunity to make headway against the Guises by playing into the hands of Condé and Coligny. Henry II possessed neither the vivacity of spirit, eloquence, or chivalry of Francis I, but was the embodiment of ostentation, violence, and selfishness. Catherine emulated him in these qualities, to which may be added jealousy, particularly of

³⁹ Relations . . . vénetiens, vol. i, p. 409.

⁴⁰ Ibid., vol. ii, p. 155.

⁴¹ Baschet, *La diplomatie Vénétienne*, p. 499.

⁴² Sichel, p. 4.

the Guises. She begrudged their position in a place which naturally and traditionally was her own, had the regencies of Blanche of Castile and Anne of Brittany been considered as precedent.⁴³

Tavannes says that Catherine went so far as to instigate the conspiracy of Amboise which startled France about the middle of March, 1560. Were that true, it was presumably to check the power of the Guise brothers. After the conspiracy the queen arranged an interrogation of the Protestant historian Laplanche upon the state of the kingdom. The cardinal Lorraine, whom Catherine cleverly persuaded to eavesdrop in an adjoining room, certainly could not have felt flattered during the interview.⁴⁴ The prompt action of the queen mother after the death of Francis II on December 5, 1560, turned the scales against the cardinal and the duke. The government of the minor, Charles IX, was organized around Catherine, with the three Bourbon princes, Navarre, Condé, and the Cardinal Bourbon, and the further assistance of the Constable Montmorency, the brothers Montpensier and Roche-sur-Yon (a Catholic duke and a Protestant prince), and the three Châtillons, Coligny, D'Andelot, and Cardinal Odet. The Guisard faction of Aumale, Marquis Elboeuf, the grand prior of France, and the cardinals of Lorraine and Guise all left the court at the same time without exhibiting any hurt pride. The Parlement of Paris passed an act in which Catherine declared that the withdrawal of the Guises from court carried no prejudice to their honor.⁴⁵ The queen adroitly avoided their influence by arranging in the Privy Council, March 27, 1561, that she and Navarre should rule jointly.⁴⁶ Her duplicity or anxiety, as we care to view it, was immediately in evidence. The queen mother's plan to govern through the Catholic constable and the Huguenot admiral, leaving Navarre only nominal authority, received a shock on April 6,

⁴³ Thompson, p. 42.

⁴⁴ Laplanche, vol. i, p. 8 (preface).

⁴⁵ Condé, vol. iii, p. 512.

⁴⁶ Relations . . . vénétiens, vol. i, p. 433.

1561.⁴⁷ On that date the Triumvirate was formed. The Protestant world was startled, for only ten days before Catherine had contrived to have Navarre named as co-regent.

The year 1562 was marked by continued contradictory actions on the part of Catherine. A Catholic authority recorded that the queen on the 5th of February changed the governors of her sons from the Huguenot to Roman Catholic. In the same chapter we find that Catherine's fear of the Triumvirate led her to take up an abode near the Protestant forces.⁴⁸ Yet on Friday, the 10th of April, she wrote to the cardinal Odet of Châtillon, asking him to influence his brother Louis of Condé to lay down arms.⁴⁹ The question might be asked if Catherine sought to win the favor of the Reform because her bitter enemy, Henry's favorite Diana of Poitiers, hated them. From 1547 to 1559, said the Protestants, not a drop of justice fell upon France except by stealth, thanks to the beauty from Poitou. But although Catherine may have resolved not to allow the Huguenots to be utterly crushed in order to use them as a counterpoise to Diana, Philip, and the Guises, she was by habit, if not by conscience, a Catholic. Montluc was delighted to inform the duke of Alva that "they may saw the queen in two before she will become a Huguenot."⁵⁰

By April 19, 1562, the Protestant uprising had so increased the fears of Catherine that she completely surrendered to the Triumvirate and resolved to appeal to Spain for assistance. At her instance Navarre, St. André, and Montmorency formally solicited Philip's military help.⁵¹ Lettenhove said that the queen asked for 10,000 infantry and a like number of cavalry.⁵² Exactly one month later the Spanish monarch acceded, promising the full quota of

⁴⁷ *Négociations toscanes*, vol. iii, p. 448; Archives Nationales, K. 1494, B. 12, 73, April 7 and 9.

⁴⁸ St. Croix, pp. 64, 94.

⁴⁹ Bethune MSS., vol. 8702.

⁵⁰ Blackburn, vol. ii, p. 40.

⁵¹ Archives Nationales, K. 1496, No. 61.

⁵² Lettenhove, p. 80.

foot soldiers and 3000 horsemen. Both branches of the service were to be largely composed of Italians and Germans.

Henceforth Catherine was to be the Circe of the Calvinists. Like so many of the Italians of her century, who were almost destitute of moral sense, she looked upon statesmanship in particular as a career in which finesse, lying, and assassination were the most admirable, because the most effective weapons. An attendant once said to the queen: "I have noticed that whom you hate you call friend, and never stop until you have destroyed."⁵³ On June 1, 1562, fifteen new chevaliers of the order were elected in order to ensure the affection of a few doubtful nobles to the queen.⁵⁴ Catherine believed the middle of the year to be the time to degrade before the tribunals of ecclesiastical jurisdiction those nobles and clergy who were opposed to the Roman faith, while the Council was assuredly Catholic. She now seemed convinced that Alva was correct when he shouted: "Catch the big fishes. One salmon is worth 10,000 frogs."⁵⁵ The upper classes who professed Calvinism she desired first to cajole and then condemn to a judicial death; the middle classes she aimed to drive from the Reform by vexatious interference and refusal of a chance to worship. Nevertheless, even after the battle of Dreux the Huguenots admittedly throve. Catherine was compelled to exclaim, "the more fire, the more of this novel faith."

In the course of one year these changes had occurred in Catherine's relations to the new religion: (1) the Edict of January, 1562, had been under her auspices: she now minded it no longer; (2) the Reformers had been protected, but she now turned against them; (3) her best adviser and finest support had been among the Huguenots: she now disdained their advice and forgot their fidelity; (4) once Condé had been besought to take up arms in her defense: she disavowed him when he took the field.⁵⁶ The Talsy confer-

⁵³ Blackburn, vol. i, p. 47.

⁵⁴ St. Croix, p. 171.

⁵⁵ Blackburn, vol. ii, p. 40.

⁵⁶ Delaborde, p. 55.

ence between Catherine, Condé, and Coligny was worse than futile.

The other great hypocritical friend of the Reform was Antoine of Bourbon, sieur de Vendôme, and king of Navarre, the first prince of the blood in 1559. He was tall and vigorous, generous to a fault, but vain and undependable. When he first renounced the mass all France whispered that it was for the purpose of becoming the head of the Huguenot party. Suriano relates that the Protestants themselves called him a hypocrite.⁵⁷ His hobby was to regain the kingdom of Navarre. This ambition might have been achieved had Antoine, the logical leader of the party, definitely cast his lot with the Protestants, but the pusillanimous prince not only hesitated, but allowed the Guises to imprison and nearly behead his brother of Condé, besides losing the governorship of Guyenne.⁵⁸ Dargaud said that Antoine was only a prince, not a man. He was sought by both parties and became much inflated with a sense of his own importance. He negotiated especially with Philip and the Pope for the restoration of his former kingdom. Chantonay as early as May 16, 1561, told Antoine that he would probably be rewarded thus if he would help in keeping France true to the established religion.⁵⁹ Fifteen days previously Chantonay had written his master that he was parleying with Vendôme (the Spaniards would never consent to call Antoine "Navarre") for the transfer of Majorca and some other islands of the Mediterranean.⁶⁰ Even Antoine's patience was being taxed so that on the 7th of December, 1561, Philip offered another proposition to the prince.⁶¹ Should Navarre succeed in banishing from the French court every Huguenot, and from France all the Protestant pastors, along with Condé, the Châtillons, L'Hôpital, and Montluc, bishop of Valence, he would re-

⁵⁷ Relations . . . vénetiens, vol. ii, p. 47.

⁵⁸ Great Britain, Cal. St. P. For., No. 716, Nov. 17, 1560.

⁵⁹ Great Britain, Cal. St. P. Ven., No. 259.

⁶⁰ Archives Nationales, K. 1494, No. 83.

⁶¹ Cal. St. P. For., No. 116.

ceive as a reward the "kingdom of Tunis." Geographical ideas of the sixteenth century were often ludicrous. Montmorency thought Tunis an island! Antoine realized that the Turks were still in possession, so Philip proposed that "M. Vendôme" exchange Navarre for Tunis and Sardinia, and promised to conquer it for him.⁶² One condition was that Jeanne d'Albret should also relinquish her rights to Navarre. Jeanne and Antoine had already quarreled because the latter insisted upon receiving instruction from a Jesuit, while she refused to allow the future Henry IV to be escorted to mass. To add to the complications the queen of Navarre abjured Catholicism at Christmas, 1561.

On the 5th of January, 1562, Navarre told St. Croix that he was being toyed with; that he saw nothing in Italy or the Low Countries which would give him satisfaction. Naples or Milan, with absolute mastership thereof, was his latest demand. Two days later Chantonnay assured St. Croix that Philip was *nearly* ready to turn over Sardinia, except the fortified ports, to Navarre.⁶³ Antoine, enraged at the thought of what he would do with the interior of the large island, wreaked his vengeance upon the Huguenots. In July, five months after the massacre of Vassy, numbers of persons of all ages were drowned at night with stones about their necks at Tours, Amboise, Blois, and those towns which capitulated to the king of Navarre.⁶⁴ The reckoning came on October 26, 1562, when he died from a wound sustained at the siege of Rouen. He was a "trimmer" to the end, on his deathbed professing the confession of Augsburg, a doctrine intermediate between Catholicism and Calvinism.⁶⁵

⁶² Bordenave, *Histoire de Béarn et de Navarre*. Paris, 1873, p. 108.

⁶³ St. Croix, p. 14.

⁶⁴ Thompson, p. 154.

⁶⁵ Despatches of Michele Suriano and Marc Antonio Barbaro, 1560-1563. (Ed. Sir Henry Layard, London, 1891), November 25, 1562.

CHAPTER VI

GUISE OR VALOIS?

From 1550 the house of Guise directed and almost produced events in France. Its leaders were the brilliant and terrible meteors of the sixteenth century. The expansion of this alien house became so great that the whole misfortunes of France were attributed to it, and among the families of Europe it rose to an eminence unrivalled. In the fourteenth century the countship of Guise, a fief under the French crown, had been carried by marriage to Rodolph, duke of Lorraine. In 1508 René II, the conqueror of Charles the Bold, divided his territories between his sons, Antony, who became duke of Lorraine as holder of the Germanic portion, and Claude, who had the French fief including Guise. Claude of Lorraine thus became the founder of a great family in which there appeared repeatedly a cardinal and a duke side by side. It was the second duke and cardinal who threw themselves into the Catholic reaction and became the leaders of the resistance to the Reform in France. Until the day of Richelieu the Guises stood between the nobility and the king, fortified by an imposing array of lordships bequeathed to them by Claude of Lorraine; Guise, Aumale, Elboeuf, Joinville, Harcourt, Mayenne, Longjumeau, Lanbesc, Boves, Sablé. Alliances with the houses of Nevers, Joyeuse, Ventadour, Sully, Mercoeur, and Aiguillon further strengthened the position of family. The cardinalate of Lorraine, the archbishopric of Rheims, the bishopric of Metz, and various minor ecclesiastical positions belonged also to the Guises, whose power was well represented in the arms of Claude of Lorraine, who as a foreign prince and at the same time a peer of France, carried the German-Lorraine double eagle and the quarterings of eight

sovereign houses, including the kings of Jerusalem, Hungary, Naples, and Aragon, and of the lords of Flanders, Bar, Anjou, and Guelderland. In 1527 this Claude was created duke of Guise, and gathered to himself riches by all means, fair or foul. His brother John, first cardinal Lorraine, also was so grasping that in consequence the reputation of the whole Lorraine country suffered for centuries. Francis, the eldest of the six children of Claude who attained their majority, was born in 1519. Charles, born in 1524, became the second cardinal. The younger brothers included Claude, duke of Aumale, Louis, cardinal of Guise and archbishop of Sens, and René, marquis of Elboeuf.

Claude of Guise died in 1550, and was succeeded by Francis, the "grand Guise," with whom we have to deal. He was liberal, chivalrous, humane. A fearful face scar, received at Boulogne in 1545 while defending his country, was the outward symbol of his devotion to France, and heightened his popularity with the lower classes. His renown reached its height after he had repelled Charles V at Metz in 1552 and wrested Calais finally from the English in 1557. With his brother Charles, the duke of Guise was practically co-regent during the reign of Francis II. If Francis of Guise was "le grand Guise," the cardinal Charles of Lorraine was the ablest, and in 1559 was in his early prime. He had a fine face, a striking figure, and was gifted with rare eloquence and an astonishing memory.¹ His ability as a linguist was only exceeded by his great insight and intuition, but he was avaricious, licentious, vindictive, envious, quick to anger. As we shall have occasion to see, the cardinal's duplicity was so great that he seemed never to tell the truth. "Le cardinal Lorraine est plus habile que personne dans l'art de dissimuler." As between the two brothers Balzac's opinion that "the passion of the French for this man [Francis of Guise] was almost idolatrous"² is not confirmed by the facts, while the most biased writer has

¹ Relations . . . vénétiens, vol. i, pp. 435, 437.

² Buet, p. 10.

never been so rash as to give a similar estimate of Charles, Cardinal Lorraine.

The machinations of the Guises are an integral part of the rise of French Protestantism, 1559 to 1562, and are naturally considered under three aspects, political, religious, and financial. Their political position was due in part to the accidents of nature, for during the estates of Orleans, the Marquis de Beaupreau, practically the last prince of the blood, died after a fall from his charger. Eighty years before, the princes of blood were numerous, but of the old titles in 1559 only Bourbon names remained (Vendôme, Montpensier, and Roche-sur-Yon). The new names were practically limited to the prince of Condé and his children. If women might have occupied the French throne, the daughter of Louis XII, the duchess of Ferrara, would have been more nearly in line than Francis.³ Urging the Salic law, Francis of Guise in 1559 obtained control of war affairs, while his brother the Cardinal assumed the management of finances and state politics. When Henry II passed away the Guises immediately seized the person of the heir apparent, the frail Francis II.⁴ As guardians they held the young king in their control and virtually a prisoner from the age of seventeen to the day of his death. They said they would see the kingdom in ashes rather than leave the king. The young monarch was forced to utter the following on December 15, 1559: "We know of no better selection than our much esteemed and beloved uncle, Francis of Lorraine, on account of the perfect and entire confidence we have in him, to entrust the credit and authority of such affairs."⁵ As Francis neared his majority the Guises were glad, for now they could manage him without a council. This was in spite of the law of the land, for at Tours in 1484 it was determined that in case of a minor king the three estates should meet and elect a council. This was to contain princes of

³ Suriano, p. 364.

⁴ Castelnau, p. 68.

⁵ Condé, vol. ii, p. 342.

the blood and no foreigners.⁶ Now the Guises made it treason to the king to speak of the estates, for they well saw that the demand for the States-General was the voice of France against Guise. The nobility were to be considered traitors for approaching thus near to the king of France.

Men were at work tracing the genealogy of Guise back to Charlemagne.⁷ Futile as the attempt was, there is little doubt that the brothers intended to seize any opportunity to supplant the weak Francis II, the second from last of the house of Valois, with a revival of the "Angevin dynasty." Henry II had addressed an injunction to all his provinces to obey the commands of the Guises as if they came from him.⁸ When Queen Catherine interceded in favor of the condemned Baron Castelnau, she had to interview "ces nouveaux rois," the Guises. Lorraine was called the "Cardinal of Anjou" while he was in Rome,⁹ but Henry II obliged him to release him from a promise that he would bestow the title Anjou on him when he was king. After the battle of Jarnac, the duke of Guise erected a shaft inscribed "Erected by a great French prince." In spite of his lawyers the duke inserted "Anjou" in his marriage contract.¹⁰ In Dauphiny he signed merely "Francis" like a king, and used royal seals of gold. In Parlement he alone of the nobles wore a sword. The younger brothers also were permeated with the consuming ambition. Aumale, upon the occasion of his marriage at Ferrara, signed as the "duc d'Anjou."¹¹

The unscrupulous policy of the Guises is illustrated in their machinations against royalty. Prince Louis of Condé, of the house of Bourbon, stood near the throne in case a prince of the blood should be chosen to reign in the place of the weakling children of Henry II and Catherine de

⁶ Laplanche, vol. i, p. 40.

⁷ Condé, vol. i, p. 406.

⁸ Laplanche, vol. i, p. 412.

⁹ Ibid., vol. i, p. 158.

¹⁰ Bersier, p. 26.

¹¹ De Thou, *Histoire universelle*. 16 vols., London, 1734; vol. i, p. 164.

Medicis. Condé, gay, gallant, laughter-loving, lively, wayward, still was chivalrously honorable and had genuine and strong religious convictions.¹² Though he was very poor, bribes of every kind were spurned. Since he would not countenance or support the ambition of the Guises, this rival must be eliminated. As the prince of Condé with his brother, Antoine of Navarre, on October 30, 1560, rode into Orléans where the States-General were to convene, he was arrested and imprisoned, upon the charge of implication in the Amboise conspiracy and the insurrection at Lyons.¹³ Only two persons were sufficiently powerful and concerned to investigate this audacious seizure of so eminent a noble. It was to the regent Catherine's interest to avoid strong measures and to play the Catholic Guise against the Huguenot Condé, hence all signs point to the cardinal Lorraine as the author of this move. To be sure, as late as March, 1562, Guise was denying that he was responsible for Condé's imprisonment,¹⁴ and tried to avert public scrutiny of his motives by a voluntary statement of the object of the Amboise conspiracy. It was intended, he said, for the death of both sovereigns, the king's brother and all the princes, and the foundation of a republic.¹⁵ History records that several times did the Guises lay themselves open to suspicion on the first of those very charges. Davila chronicles one. The frail king Francis eventually succumbed to a malady of the ear and head. One day in 1560 the monarch suffered a fainting fit while in the barber's chair.¹⁶ The ugly rumor reached every province that the Guises had caused the barber to put poison in the king's ear. The Pope and Philip of Spain were both advised that the heretic Condé would soon be executed. The prince was saved only because the Guises were trying to draw both Navarre and the constable Montmorency into the same plot. Fair trial with the existing venality of justice would have been the exception. The

¹² Hanna, p. 24.

¹³ *Négociations toscanes*, vol. iii, p. 425.

¹⁴ Condé, vol. iii, p. 156.

¹⁵ Venice was about the only republic well known to France.

¹⁶ Davila, p. 64.

death of Francis II on December 5, 1560, thwarted the efforts of Guise to have the great Condé executed or kept in perpetual confinement.

Another instance of flagrant tampering with royalty is recorded by the ultra-Catholic ambassador Chantonnay, Philip's minister at the court of France, in a letter of November 9, 1561. The young king Charles IX had left his room after an illness. The duke of Orléans, his brother, was in the king's room and met the duke of Nemours, a relation of the Guises. To the question whether he was Papist or Huguenot, young Orléans answered that he was of the religion of his mother, the queen. Nemours asked "*s'il ne luy plaisoit pas qu'il luy dis 25 paroles,*" then took him aside near the door of the king's cabinet and said: "Sir, I see that the kingdom of France is lost and ruined by these Huguenots, and the King and yourself are not secure, because the King of Navarre and Condé wish to become king, and will cause both you and the King to die: thus, Sir, if you wish to avoid this danger, you must guard and if you wish, M. Guise and I will aid and succor you, and send you into Lorraine or Savoy."¹⁷ Orléans replied that he did not wish to leave his mother and the king. Nemours: "Think well of what I tell you, it is to your profit." The duke did not reply. Nemours: "You do not trust in Carnavallet and Villequier?" "Yes." "Do not tell them of what I have told you and what we have been talking about thus at length. If they ask you, say we were speaking of comedies," said Nemours, and left him. At this juncture, the duke of Guise, who had been standing before the fire talking to his son the Prince of Joinville, approached Orléans and said, "Sir, I have heard that the Queen wished to send you and the duke of Anjou (Henry III's fourth son) into Lorraine, in quite a splendid castle, for a vacation: if you wish to go, we will make you much at home." Orléans: "I do not think the Queen my mother wants me to abandon the King." Joinville: "If you wish to come to Lorraine

¹⁷ Condé, vol. iii, p. 375.

and enjoy what M. de Nemours has told you of, he can fix it all right." The next day Joinville came to Orléans, speaking in the same strain, saying that if he wished to know the means of accomplishing the departure he would tell him. The young duke would like very much to know. Joinville: "You will be taken away at midnight, after being lowered from a window opening on the Pont de Parc: afterwards you will enter a coach, and will be in Lorraine before any one finds it out." Orléans did not answer, and left the prince. The following day Nemours was to leave and at his departure whispered to Orléans: "Remember what I have told you and tell no one." Only an accident frustrated this plot of the Guises and Nemours to spirit the dukes of Orléans and Anjou into Lorraine, their stronghold.

"La tyrannie guisienne" was no fiction. The brothers built up a system of government wholly their own, especially in the provinces. Dependent upon Guise's lieutenants were about six thousand who had been raised to various positions in the government of the provinces.¹⁸ In 1559 there were almost as many to whom tyranny seemed profitable as those to whom liberty seemed agreeable. The government of the provinces and frontier towns was changed, and Guisards were installed. The frontiers of Champagne, Picardy, Brittany, Poitou, Gascony, and Dauphiny especially were furnished with adherents of Guise. All generals, governors and towns were ordered to obey Guise as the king himself. Not content with their foreign and French fiefs, the Guises set about increasing their holdings. Claiming to be descendants of Charlemagne, they wrested two of Henry II's chief provinces, Provence and Anjou, besides the duchy of Bar, which domain Lorraine asserted had been taken away originally only by force. The Guises threw a sop to the princes by advising the king to create two new governments in the center of France. To Montpensier was given the government of the province of Touraine, the duchies of Vendôme and Anjou, and the coun-

¹⁸ La Boétie, *Discours de la servitude volontaire*, p. 85.

ties of Blois, Maine and Dunois.¹⁹ His brother, the prince de la Roche-sur-Yon, received the government of Orléans, the duchy of Berry, the "pays" Chartrain, the Beauce, and Montargis. We are not surprised to find, however, that the new offices were subject to provincial lieutenants under Guise, Sipierre in Orléannais and Savigny in Touraine. To balance these allotments the constable Montmorency was deprived of the government of Languedoc.

Italy was the scene of the majority of the foreign machinations of the Cardinal Lorraine and his brothers. At Rome the Guises played with sustained credit, possibly because Italians held one-third of the benefices in France and infinite pensions.²⁰ At first the cardinal had requested Henry II to use his influence to secure the tiara for his uncle, John, later Paul IV. This Giovanni Pietro Caraffa had been head of the reactionary party at Rome, bent on crushing all tendencies to religious innovation. After taking part in two important conclaves, Caraffa was unexpectedly elected pope on May 23, 1555, after the death of Marcellus II. The cardinal Lorraine seems to have been instrumental in raising Paul IV to the pontifical throne, notwithstanding his personal unpopularity and the positive veto of Charles V. Caraffa rewarded Lorraine by openly espousing the cause of France as against Spain and Catholic Germany. His death in 1559 so crystallized the detestation of the Roman people, that the hawkers of earthenware and glass were compelled for a time to discontinue their usual cry of "carafe" and substitute "ampolle." Immediately the Guises, always fishers in troubled waters, brought to bear all their resources. The cardinal aspired to the throne of St. Peter;²¹ for his brother Francis of Guise he sought the throne of Naples.²² Against Pius IV, the pope succeeding Paul IV, the cardinal warred for four years, and

¹⁹ *Oeuvres complètes de Brantôme*. Lalanne, 11 vols, Paris, 1864-87; vol. iii, p. 278.

²⁰ Laplanche, vol. i, p. 331.

²¹ Baschet, *La diplomatie Vénétienne*, p. 497.

²² Tavannes, vol. ii, p. 185.

declared the French king the protector of the duke of Parma (the second of the Farnese line, Ottavio) and the house of Farnese, whom the pope had anathematized. Now, at the height of their power in France, the Guises longed also for the Papacy and the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily.

Through the jealousies of the Montmorencies, Francis of Guise had been sent in 1557 to assume charge of military operations in Italy. His recall, necessitated by the events leading up to his laudable coup at St. Quentin, prevented one more addition to the long list of military reputations ruined in Italy. But the sojourn was the foundation for his future enterprises at Rome. One of these was the contemplated alliance of a brother of the duke with Ferrara's daughter. Two expeditions instigated by the cardinal involved losses to French prestige in Italy. In one of these the papacy was the prize. The other goal was the kingdom of Naples (and Sicily), which rich territorial prize covered the entire south of the Italian peninsula, just as in the day of Napoleon. To further his aims, Francis of Guise made capital of the inveterate hatred of the Neapolitans for the Spanish rule. Prior to 1559 the Guises had not cultivated the deference to Philip II which is so conspicuous after the outbreak of the wars of religion.

The sudden change in Guise's attitude toward Spain, in the epoch-making year of 1559, is partially explained by the close alliance of Cardinal Lorraine and Granvella, the Spanish ambassador to the Low Countries. In the same year, as will be shown, the attitude of France became anti-Protestant instead of anti-Spanish. One of the most astute diplomats of all time, Chantonnay, the Spanish ambassador at the French court, was an overshadowing factor in this result. On February 4, 1560, Guise wrote Philip: "I will obey, Sire, any good and praiseworthy advice it will please you to give me."²³ On January 31, 1561, Lorraine assured the Spanish monarch of his loyalty.²⁴ On April 21, 1562,

²³ Capefigue, *Histoire de la Réforme*, vol. ii, p. 92.

²⁴ Archives Nationales, K. 1494, No. 35, Bibl. Nat.

an assuring note was handed Philip from the new Triumvirate, which was a reality as soon as Marshal Montmorency determined to join Marshal St. André and Guise in their ambitious program.²⁵ Another ill-omen for France lay in the coincidence that the colors of Spain and Guise were identical, red and yellow. The accord of the Triumvirate provided for (1) Philip II to be the head; (2) Navarre to coöperate; (3) Emperor and Roman Catholic princes of Germany to blockade France during the war; (4) Roman Catholic cantons to prevent the other cantons from assisting; (5) Ferrara to be head of the Italian troops; (6) Savoy to attack Geneva and murder every one; (7) German Lutherans to be massacred.²⁶ In answer to Condé, the Triumvirate on May 4, 1562, presented a request to Charles IX, asking him to proclaim that he does not wish diversity of religion and that all officers shall observe the same religion.²⁷ It may be added that it would probably be impossible to find any Huguenot leader who ever thought of subordinating the government of France to a foreign ruler for the maintenance of the faith he believed in, as did Guise, St. André, and Montmorency.

Scotland was aspired to by the house of Guise through enterprises in favor of Mary Stuart. They had a lien on that country on account of the two Marys. Mary I of England had married Philip II and restored the Catholic faith, while Mary queen of Scots was the daughter of Mary of Lorraine and James V of Scotland. At the age of six she was betrothed to the dauphin Francis and started for France. Imperial Rome at its darkest could not have overshadowed the society in which the child was reared. Debauchery of all kinds and murder in all forms were the daily matter of jest to the circle of satellites around Catherine de Medicis. After ten years' tutelage by the woman whose chief instrument of policy was the corruption of her own children, Mary was married to the dauphin on April

²⁵ Archives Nationales, K. 1496, No. 64.

²⁶ Condé, Jan. 31, 1562.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 419.

25, 1558. To serve Guise they were married long before marriageable age, Francis attaining to fifteen years and three months and Mary one month older. "By a singular combination of events and lineages Mary Stuart was necessarily almost the cornerstone of the universal monarchy Philip II dreamed of forming in Europe, her possession of the Scottish crown, her claim to England, her relationship with the Guises, united with the religion she professed, made the furtherance of her power the most practicable means to that end."²⁸ Louis of Condé was the power who thwarted Guise's plan to make Francis II, "King of France, Scotland, Ireland and England."²⁹ The Guises plucked courage from the fact that under the pretext of preparing for a Scotch war in favor of Mary Stuart, they could fill France with soldiers, to meet any French, German, or Swiss Protestant contingency.³⁰ Their agents had been at work among the mercenary princes of Germany for months, 20,000 men being engaged by the middle of 1560.

The leading Protestant princes of Germany were concentrated upon by the Guises in an effort to inject into the minds of the Germans an unmerited confidence in themselves and a suspicion and dislike of the Huguenots.³¹ German Protestants had been tricked into France to fight their fellow Protestants. The Count Palatine and the Landgrave of Thuringia were Calvinists. The other leaders. Augustus, elector of Saxony; Joachim, margrave of Brandenburg; John Frederick, duke of Saxony; Wolfgang William, duke of Zweibrücken; Joachim Ernest, prince of Anhalt; Charles, margrave of Baden; William, landgrave of Hesse; and Christopher, duke of Würtemberg, were all Lutherans.³² Their participation in the wars of religion will appear in another chapter, as will the conference of Francis of Guise with the duke of Würtemberg, at Saverne,

²⁸ Thompson, p. 244.

²⁹ Aumale, *Histoire des Princes de Condé*, vol. i, p. 51.

³⁰ Archives Nationales, K. 1495, No. 2, July 11, 1560.

³¹ Letter of Fr. Hotman, Dec. 31, 1560.

³² Condé, vol. iv, pp. 1-38.

February 15, 1562. Francis went so far as to emphasize that he was essentially a Lutheran. To this perjury was added the promise not to molest the Huguenots any more. The original plan of Philip, Chantonnay, and Guise called for such a distortion of the facts that the audiences with the Protestant princes of Germany might even result in the enlistment of Lutheran forces against the French Calvinists. The Saverne meeting was simply an expedient to "endormir les Protestants."³³ Christopher of Würtemberg was soon undeceived. The duke of Guise immediately crossed the French frontier into Lorraine and on to one of his estates at Joinville, in Champagne. On March 1, ten days after the Saverne conference, the duke's retinue passed through the village of Vassy. In perfect accordance with the Edict of Toleration of January 17, 1562, a Huguenot congregation was at worship in a barn outside the village. History will probably never obtain a true account of what followed, but an epoch was marked when the duke's followers butchered the defenseless people. The January Edict had been made in the absence of the Guises and against their wish. Vassy was the result. Guise had said: "This sword shall cut the bond of that edict, though never so strait."³⁴ The historian Ranke tersely remarks that "whether the duke intended the massacre or not, it is enough that he did not prevent it."³⁵ Vassy was the immediate cause of the disastrous and paralyzing wars of religion. Agents of Guise circulated printed apologies for Vassy, though one of the duke's train boasted having brought down six of the pigeons who tried to escape over the roofs!³⁶ Even by May, 1562, Guise had not been absolved by the Guisard Court of Parlement or by the peers of France for this atrocious deed.

The kingdoms of Denmark and Sweden had been at war for seven years. The German princes were fearful lest the

³³ Varillas, *Histoire de Charles IX.* 2 vols., Paris, 1683; vol. i, p. 153.

³⁴ Davila, p. 97.

³⁵ Ranke, L., *Civil Wars and Monarchy in France.* 2 vols., p. 211.

³⁶ Popelinière, vol. i, p. 327; Hanna, p. 33.

Guises should use this favorable opportunity to move into Denmark and put their relative, the Duke of Lorraine (brother-in-law of Christian II, exiled King of Denmark), on the throne.³⁷ Denmark wanted a French Protestant prince to marry the Danish king's sister, and offered an alliance between the sovereign and the widowed Mary Stuart. Naturally this pro-Protestant proposal was frustrated by Philip and the henchmen of the Guise party.

The foreign political intrigues of Guise, to be considered under separate titles, cover an amazing range. In addition to the countries referred to the plans of the ambitious family included Switzerland, Flanders, Holland, the Three Bishoprics, Savoy, Venice, Barbary, Turkey, and even Greece and Albania. It seemed as if each month saw the heart of some foreign prince alienated from the French king and his country through the schemes of the Guises. The Venetian ambassador wrote home: "Il n'y avait rien que en ne branlait et tremblait sous le nom de Guise."³⁸

Naturally, the subservience of the parliaments of Paris and the provinces was essential to these political plans. Most of the sacred laws of France were trampled upon. Ordinances and edicts were changed. Legislation and justice were degraded, and one has but to open the records of 1559 to 1562 to discover how the Guises repeatedly upset decisions of the courts of Parlement to obtain favorable judgments. If it is too much to say, with Beza, that Guise was "meurtrier du genre humain,"³⁹ still it was a constant epithet in all of western Europe. Lorraine pursued under the name of heretics all who blocked his ambitions or refused to serve them.⁴⁰ The Parlement of Paris, dominated by Ultramontanes and Guisards, was his chief instrument. Other parliaments assisted, especially those of Aix and

³⁷ Correspondance du Cardinal de Granvelle, 1565-1575. Ed. Poulet et Piot. 11 vols., Brussels, 1878-85; vol. i, p. 126.

³⁸ Relations . . . vénétiens, vol. i, p. 435.

³⁹ Aymon, Les synodes nationaux des églises réformées de France, vol. i, p. 82.

⁴⁰ Dufay, Pierre, Histoire, actes et remontrances des parlemens, 2 vols., Paris, 1826; vol. i, p. 63.

Toulouse. Unknown persons carried the response to certain slanders of the cardinal to the parliaments of Paris and Rouen. The latter body sent it to the king, but the Guises, fearing a libel, sent the magistrates home without seeing the king.⁴¹ Forms of law were seldom, if ever, used in capital punishment: the victims' names were never published. Wherever the king was sojourning, distinguished heretics were hanged, strangled or burnt, especially for the amusement of the ladies of the court. The guiltless Dubourg was incarcerated in the Bastille at the motion of the Cardinal. A man was arrested if he stopped in front of the prison. Only the sudden death of Francis II kept intact the head of the great Condé. That event affected also one of the most important diplomatic moves made by the Guises, which was the great effort made to attach to their party Brissac, governor of Piedmont under Henry II. The hope of playing him against the constable Montmorency and the Bourbons was ever a dominant impulse.⁴² Their extended system of checks and balances was interrupted only when the fusion party of the chancellor L'Hôpital displaced the ultra-Catholic Guises at the death of Francis.

Concluding the survey of the machinations of this ambitious house in so far as they were political, one important observation remains. Jurisconsults of Germany and France, and likewise theologians and doctors, said that the usurped government of the Guises could be legitimately opposed by arms if need be. The sequel is to be found in the chapter dealing with the armed progress of the Reform. The Protestant rising was based on definite legal grounds. Nothing is more curious in the period of the wars of religion than the Protestant passion for legality. Legists, pastors, commanders, all sought legal basis for their action.

Just as the political and religious schemes of the house of Guise were executed to the detriment of the nobility and

⁴¹ Condé, vol. ii, p. 360.

⁴² Paris, *Négociations relatives au règne de François II*, vol. ii, p. 73.

the clergy, so their financial dealings were most often at the expense of the other great order, the Third Estate. A famous anagram current in 1560 voiced the sentiment of the common people in various transpositions of the letters of "Charles de Lorraine":

Il cherra l'asne doré (he worships the golden ass)
 Hardi larron se cèle (bold thief hides himself)
 Renard lasche le roi (fox, let go the king)
 Raclé à l'or de Henri (raked up from the gold of Henry)

The amount "raked up from the gold of Henry" was independent of the ordinary income of the Guises. Their patrimony, church property, pensions and benefits from the king amounted to 600,000 francs (nearly \$500,000 today), the cardinal having half that sum. The estates inherited from their ancestors of Lorraine would have sufficed for any one save the ambitious brothers. Although an attendant of Marshal de Brissac said that one hundred houses in France yielded nothing to the Guises in grandeur, nobility, and antiquity,⁴³ yet the records would seem to show that the house of Lorraine was second to none in opulence. It is the more surprising therefore to read the Venetian ambassador's comment on the "shameful cupidity and duplicity of the cardinal."⁴⁴ In the same letter this Catholic envoy refers to the "great Babylonian beast, avarice, in whose path follow so many superstitions and abominations." One of the cardinal's crowning acts of dishonesty appeared when he forced Queen Catherine to divide with him the fees arising from the confirmation of offices and the privileges accorded towns and municipal corporations in the time of Henry II, which sums lawfully accrued to her. Then he cut her share in half by a fraudulent estimate in livres instead of écus d'or.⁴⁵

The conspicuous blot upon the public financial policy of Guise was the extraordinary imposition of taxes from 1558

⁴³ Laplanche, vol. ii, p. 311.

⁴⁴ Relations . . . vénétiens, vol. i, p. 435: "Sa violence était telle que dans tout le royaume on ne désirait que sa mort."

⁴⁵ Écu d'or = 2 livres tournois under Francis I.

to 1563. Tailles were redoubled. Imposts on grain, wine and salt were so increased that the poor subjects found peace more intolerable than war. Loans purporting to relieve the royal treasury went to swell the Guisard exchequer. A famous journal, *Le Tigre de 1560*, aptly wrote:

"Le feu Roy devina ce poinct
Que ceux de la Maison de Guise
Mettroient ses enfants en pourpoint
Et son pauvre peuple en chemise."⁴⁶

Laplanche declared that the cardinal would sell the air! "We must increase the course of the sun twice in order to double the crops to meet the exactions of Guise."⁴⁷ An economic catastrophe was nearly precipitated when the foreign merchants refused to submit to these exactions. They were assured no profits if they dealt with the Guises, consequently France remained full of wine and grains and empty of money. Public revenues were diverted. Most of the timber land in France was in Normandy, Champagne, Burgundy, and Dauphiny, forming, as it were, a dotted line across the kingdom from northwest to southeast. These "vacant lands" were rented out, but the returns never reached the royal treasury.

To add to the universal dissatisfaction due to the financial situation, these redoubled tailles of the "real kings" were not used to alleviate conditions. The king's army itself developed the most acute situation. Gendarmes, infantry, and cavalry were obliged to go for a long time without pay, although the Guises' foreign mercenaries were always provided for.⁴⁸ Even the salaries of officers of justice were far in arrears. The henchmen of Lorraine and foreign satellites consumed funds which were diverted from their customary channels. As far as possible the greatest offices on land or sea had been secured by the Guise brothers to their servants. Often their dependents bar-

⁴⁶ De Thou.

⁴⁷ Laplanche, vol. i, p. 326.

⁴⁸ Condé, p. 408.

tered for the offices of justice.⁴⁹ From governors to petty officials their obsequious adherents formed an anti-monarchical and anti-Protestant chain, from Flanders to Dauphiny, from Navarre to Brittany. For their friends they created new offices, and were quite unabashed when, on April 2, 1561, a member of the Parlement of Paris declared that the "government had fallen into the hands of harpies and griffins, who deserve 1000 gibbets!"⁵⁰ Some prominent persons were so deceived that they even transferred their inheritances to the duke.⁵¹ It would be difficult today to picture adequately the venality of justice, for the prostitution of offices of justice to the Guisard adherents was the rule. Reform in such affairs would have straightened out the conditions of noble, military, merchant, and laboring classes.

The inevitable intersection of Italian and French relations was never more apparent than in financial matters. In the public complaint of the French people, April 9, 1560, it was stated that the Guises had hired 8000 Italians for their enterprises, mercenaries who were paid with the deniers of France. The nobility are chased into the sea, while the English are incited into a new war on account of the ambitions of Guise. Four months later, on August 23, 1560, at the council of Fontainebleau, Marillac, the liberal archbishop of Vienne, in his speech on the program of the religious and political Huguenots, remarked: "Foreign prelates, chiefly Italians, fill one-third of our benefices, have an infinite number of pensions, suck our blood like leeches, and in their hearts, laugh at our stupidity."⁵² The importation of money from Germany into Lorraine was no secret.⁵³ One apothecary, on the Franco-Italian border, said: "I know of 150 villages robbed of straw, oats, wine, and money for Guises' table and stable."⁵⁴

⁴⁹ Laplanche, vol. i. p. 598.

⁵⁰ Response to pamphlet *Pour la majorité du François II*, in Condé *Memoirs*.

⁵¹ Laplanche, vol. i, p. 309.

⁵² La Place, pp. 53-55.

⁵³ Great Britain, Cal. St. P. For., No. 789, Jan. 8, 1562.

⁵⁴ Laplanche, vol. ii, p. 300.

The evidence shows that ecclesiastical foundations were not immune from the financial greed of the house of Lorraine. Did the Guises hold to Catholicism on account of their 400,000 livres revenue from the church? The fact that it was quite facile for the duke and the cardinal to prove religious turncoats on several important occasions would seem to show this, while at the same time they were piling up pluralities of bishoprics and abbeys. Two examples of absorption will suffice. The rich abbey of St. Thierry des Rheims, paying 12,000 livres, became vacant in 1558. Before Henry II heard of it, those "three harpies, Guise, Montmorency and Diane de Poitiers," all applied for it.⁵⁵ Happily the king pretended he had already given it to the Marshal Vieilleville, who was one of his many creditors. Usually the monarch, like the Guises, had a way of scattering sedition by threatening his creditors. In another case the titles of the monastery of Monastierende in Champagne were burned and the monks driven out, to enrich the house of Joinville-Lorraine. Evidently the Guises were plagiarizing the question of Henry II: "Is it better to lose a kingdom, or take the money of the church?" Aside from Paris, where the *échevins* were called on to contribute eighteen times by Henry II in the dozen years of his reign, even to the gold and silver plate of the bourgeois (1553), the church of France was the grand pillar of government finance. The clergy yearly received a sum equivalent to two-fifths of the entire annual exports of France, or 15,000,000 livres gold.⁵⁶

In the attempt to maintain religious uniformity there were several ways of ferreting out Huguenots. In various towns the host, or consecrated wafer, was borne in solemn procession, often for the sole purpose of discovering heretics who would not salute the symbol. For a similar purpose little children bore sacred candles through the streets. The complaints of and to the Parlement of Paris on this subject were continual. Wily spies pounced upon the unwary who

⁵⁵ Williams, H. Noel, *Henry II: his life and times*, p. 171.

⁵⁶ Suriano, p. 368.

did not contribute to the money boxes nailed to the corner lampposts. House-to-house visitations of collectors of money with which to persecute the Huguenots helped to fill the unspeakable prisons of Paris of the sixteenth century with the followers of Calvin and Luther. Against Tours on the Loire the Guises had special malevolence, and invoked the king to punish the heretics,⁵⁷ but one of the processions just referred to met with such clamor in the streets of Dieppe on April 30, 1559, that the cardinal Lorraine lost his head and departed that night under cover of darkness. He justified the drastic policy of the government by saying: "It will be more than necessary to apply violent remedies and proceed to fire and sword, as otherwise unless provision be made, the alienation of France, coupled with that of England, Scotland, and Germany would by force draw Spain and Italy and the rest of Christendom to the same result."⁵⁸

Divergence in the opinions of contemporaries as to the cardinal's qualities of religious leadership is great. In the spring of 1560 the Venetian ambassador wrote: "During the whole of this Passion Week nothing has been attended to but the sermon of the Cardinal Lorraine, which gathered very great congregations, not only to his praise, but to the universal astonishment and admiration, both on account of his doctrines and by reasons of his very fine gesticulation, and incomparable eloquence and mode of utterance."⁵⁹ Perhaps it was in such a moment of inspiration that the prelate bequeathed to posterity an evidence of conscience usually conspicuous by its absence. Eight months later than the period at which the Venetian ambassador wrote, Francis II lay dying, before attaining his eighteenth year. His last prayer, dictated by Lorraine, was: "Lord, impute not to me thy servant the sin committed by my ministers under my name and authority."⁶⁰ The proffer of Charles

⁵⁷ Laplanche, vol. i, p. 234.

⁵⁸ Great Britain, Cal. St. P. For., No. 952, April 6, 1560.

⁵⁹ Great Britain, Cal. St. P. Ven., No. 149, 1560.

⁶⁰ Sichel, p. 105.

and Francis of Lorraine to the German princes (February 15-17, 1562) to enter the confession of Augsburg might have evinced religious penetration and statesmanship had not the massacre of Vassy twelve days later labelled the proposition a conspiracy. The Protestants despised the scholastic philosophy which the cardinal had studied at the Sorbonne.⁶¹ Their ministers knew Greek and Latin, but the priests did not. The duke of Guise evidently was of no assistance to his brother in theology. He told him that the Bible was good for nothing, having been "written last year,"⁶² while Christ died 1500 years ago." The cardinal replied to the witnesses: "My brother is in the wrong." His inability to cope successfully with Protestant doctrines is shown by the Huguenot historians in his act of 1560, where he prevented the meeting of Catherine and a Calvinist minister at Rheims, at the time of the coronation of Charles IX.

The most glaring instance of quibbling due to deficiency in theological training was his conduct at the very important Colloquy of Poissy. Simultaneously in the summer of 1561 there met the States-General at Pontoise, north of the Seine, and the assembly of picked leaders of Catholicism and Protestantism at Poissy, south of the same river. The estates had to face the stringent financial crisis described in another chapter. Aside from Paris, the church of France was to prove more than ever the pillar of government finances.⁶³ Economy and retrenchment, honest and effective administration, no longer would avail. Jean Bretaigne, of Autun, the spokesman of the Third Estate, argued that the immense resources of the clergy must be used to bolster government finances. All offices, benefices, and ecclesiastical dignities not actually officiated either in person or in a titular capacity, must yield their revenues. The riches of deceased bishops and monks, and of benefices in litigation

⁶¹ Varillas, Charles IX, p. 11.

⁶² Hanna, p. 79.

⁶³ Great Britain, Cal. St. P. For., No. 396, Aug. 11, 1561; Thompson, p. 107.

should be taken over by the government. A scale of one-quarter to two-thirds was to be applied to those benefices ranging from 500 to 12000 livres in annual income. As for incomes exceeding the latter figure, the government was to retain all but 4000 livres in the case of the clergy, all but 6000 in case of cardinals, archbishops, and bishops. The plan as it touched the religious orders was severe. From the Benedictines, founded in Italy in 529 A.D., to the Jesuitesses, established in Flanders by an English woman in 1554, all revenues except a pittance for support were to be appropriated. Further sumptuary laws would increase this total. As a last resort all ecclesiastical property might be sold directly. Before such a proposition the nobility was in a dilemma, but finally a compromise was attained. The royal domain was all to be redeemed by the clergy by January, 1568, and the rest of the debt to be cleared by 1574.⁶⁴

The Colloquy of Poissy between the leaders of Protestantism and Catholicism was being held simultaneously with the session at Pontoise. It had been called for July 2, 1561, but inadequate means of travel and other delays had postponed the actual convening until September 15.⁶⁵ Indeed the financial and religious issues were so urgent that the Parlement of Paris had met daily except Sundays from June 18 till July 11, 1561.⁶⁶ The advantages between the parties represented were not at all equal. On one side were fifty-two rich prelates (present only through royal command) masters of the situation and ready to close the debate as soon as it seemed unfavorable. Some of the delegates of the Spanish clergy on their way to the council of Trent paused in their journey to gloat over the discomfiture of the heretics. Lainez, the Spanish Jesuit general, appeared at Poissy without summons, to give the meeting another touch of intrigue and violence.⁶⁷ On the other hand the

⁶⁴ Great Britain, Cal. St. P. For., No. 750, Dec. 28, 1561.

⁶⁵ Papiers d'état du cardinal de Granvelle, vol. vi, p. 137.

⁶⁶ Condé, vol. ii, p. 396.

⁶⁷ Dufay, Parlemens, vol. i, p. 68.

Protestant ministers came under a precarious safe conduct, and were watched more than protected by the guards.

Having already kept the Protestants waiting sixteen days before opening the conference, Charles, cardinal of Lorraine, addressed the colloquy on the second day of the debate (September 16, 1561), delivering one of the "very long speeches" which according to Suriano were made by all the delegates. His address dealt with two points: one, that the king, not being the head of the church, might not act as a judge in religious matters; the other, that the authority of the church was extended even over princes. The cardinal directed a shaft at the Huguenot pastors by defining the church as "the company of Christians in which is comprised both reprobates and heretics, and which has been recognized always, everywhere, and by all, and which alone had the right of interpreting Scriptures."⁶⁸ The inclusion of "heretics" in this description was probably more from temporization than connection. The cardinal attempted to reply to only two of the points emphasized by Theodore Beza, the Huguenot leader. He asserted the Real Presence in the Eucharist, denied by Beza, and further argued that the church is no mere aggregation of the elect. The churchman quibbled with Beza as to whether on one occasion the latter had written that Christ was not more in "Coena" than in "Coeno."⁶⁹ In spite of Addison's declaration that "a pun can be no more engraven than it can be translated," Charles was accusing Beza of the impossible sacrilege of the statement that Providence was not more in the supper than in the mire!

The cardinal's malice was instrumental in causing the Protestant ministers to stand back of the rail in the assembly room as they spoke. Their demands included the propositions: (1) The bishops, abbots, and other ecclesiastics should not be constituted in any way judges of the Huguenots, in view of the fact that they were their opponents; (2) That all points of difference be judged and decided according to

⁶⁸ Great Britain, Cal. St. P. For., No. 507, Sept. 17, 1561.

⁶⁹ Baird, Beza, p. 136.

the simple word of God, as contained in the New and Old Testaments, since the Reformed faith was founded on this alone, and that where any difficulties arose concerning the interpretation of words, reference should be made to the original Hebrew and Greek text.⁷⁰ But the gulf between the two parties seemed hopeless. The colloquy dissolved on October 18. Coligny and the Chancellor L'Hôpital thwarted, if they did not dominate the Papal-Spanish party. L'Hôpital's scheme was two-fold: (1) to assure Protestants of liberty of conscience; (2) to make royal power the protector of all creeds, and not a party head.⁷¹ This policy was finally carried out under Henry IV. Witty Madame Cursol said to the cardinal Lorraine after Poissy: "Good man for this evening, but tomorrow, what?"⁷² The next day Charles boasted he had overcome Beza and brought him over to his opinion, but as a matter of fact the Guises made more Protestants than the preaching of all the Protestant apostles. Their religious policy should at this point be considered.

Many councils, canons, and courts had forbidden ecclesiastics from mixing in secular affairs, especially war. Unfortunately for France, the ecclesiastic position of the "Cardinal de la Ruine" kept him from being responsible to secular judges. He could not be reached, for one of the elements in the strength of the Guises lay in their vast clerical influence. Four cardinalates and eleven bishoprics were answerable to the house of Lorraine. Nevertheless no biography of Charles and Francis has ever proved that they were pious Catholics. The unbiased reader will find numerous instances of their using religion as a life-line.⁷³ Even more often they will be suspected of subscribing to a cult similar to that of Catherine de Medicis and many others of the sixteenth century who professed no religion whatever. In 1559 they who had been simply Guisards decided to change their names to Catholics.

⁷⁰ Archives Nationales, K. 1494, No. 96.

⁷¹ Baudrillrat, *Théories Politiques*, p. 52.

⁷² Baird, *Beza*, p. 145.

⁷³ La Boétie, p. 17.

The indictment of introducing the Inquisition into France was preferred against the Guises by the three Electors, Würtemberg, and the duke of Zweibrücken, on March 19, 1558. Doubtless this accusation related to the most serious religious or political misdemeanor ever advanced against the house of Lorraine. Rather would the French populace have forgiven usurpation of the throne of the Valois. Under guise of assisting and defending the purity of Christendom, "*misericordia et justitia*" the motto, the most flagrant injustice and those cruel "tender mercies" mentioned by the Book of Proverbs made up the Inquisition. The latter had passed from Provence into France in 1255, when Alexander IV named the provincial of the Dominicans and the head of the Franciscans at Paris his inquisitors-general for France at the insistent request of St. Louis, whose piety was of the narrowest crusading type. (Were he living today he would be horrified to know that the Moslems of Tunis revere him as a saint who died in the Moslem faith!) But the Gallican church, resenting this interference of the inevitable ultramontane influence, even opposed and helped defeat the innovation. When Ferdinand and Isabella united Castile and Aragon, the Inquisition had been reorganized in Spain under a code of thirty-nine articles, drawn up by the famous Dominican Torquemada and later revised by Cardinal Ximenes. Llorente, a competent authority, says that in Spain alone, until Napoleon suppressed it, 31,912 were burned, out of a total of 341,021 who were punished and handed over to the *auto-da-fé*.⁷⁴ The Guises wished to gratify the Pope and establish the Inquisition in France as in Spain.⁷⁵ At least this was the word brought to Henry II by Cardinal Caraffa, according to the brilliant cavalry leader Tavannes. So, in 1557, the Inquisition in its latest form was introduced into France. It was through no fault of the Guises that its hold on French soil was always small. Its success would have furthered their religious, political, and financial plans. One characteristic would have par-

⁷⁴ J. A. Llorente, *Historia Critica de la inquisicion de España*.

⁷⁵ Tavannes, vol. ii, p. 185.

ticularly pleased the Cardinal Lorraine, namely the hope of a rich booty from confiscation. One illustrious victim whom the Guises hoped to betray was the Cardinal Châtillon, the brother of Coligny. Through the craft of Lorraine this churchman was placed on the French board of Inquisition with three other cardinals.⁷⁶ In the opinion of the writer, chancellor L'Hôpital urged the edict of Romorantin, in May, 1560, to prevent the Guises from introducing the Inquisition. Furthermore, this royal decree was a sop to the priests, for it removed completely the jurisdiction of legal processes from the courts of parliament and from lay judges who had been empowered to render summary judgments, and restored it to the ecclesiastical judges. D'Aubigné proves that this move was an assurance to suspected persons that the death penalty was no longer a serious menace, thanks to the opportunity of appeals from the acts of bishops to archbishops and from thence to Rome.⁷⁷

As has been said, the brothers of Guise preached:

"Un Christ tout noircey de fumée
Portant un morion en teste et dans la main
Un large coutelas rouge de sang humain."⁷⁸

In addition to the inquisition their savage policy presented many other angles. The treaty concluded between France and Spain in 1559 at the little French town of Cateau-Cambrésis was aimed at the Reform. The presence in Paris of the duke of Alva confirmed the prevailing impression that Philip II and Henry II intended to establish the inquisition in France. Even before the Romorantin Edict of 1560, the Parlement of Paris formally declared against the large increase in the powers of the ecclesiastical courts and the corresponding decrease in those of the regular legal tribunals. It further protested against conversion by persecution, and the Spanish form of the inquisition.⁷⁹ It was proposed that the inquisitors be empowered to appoint

⁷⁶ Beza, *Histoire ecclésiastique des églises réformées*, p. 137.

⁷⁷ D'Aubigné, vol. i, p. 274.

⁷⁸ Lettenhove, p. 79.

⁷⁹ Armstrong, *Wars of Religion in France*, p. 4.

diocesan tribunals, which could decide without appeal. The Parlement of Paris absolutely declined to register this edict, but the king entered the *Mercuriale*, or the famous Wednesday assembly, and broke with tradition by ordering the arrest of five members, among them the advocate Du Bourg, who had protested against the introduction of the inquisition.

This action placed one of the most influential elements of the kingdom in an unfriendly mood toward the government, and since the grievance was the sequel of the religious program of the Guises, it had a marked tendency to create a "rapprochement" between the reformers and the judicial classes. The most eminent jurists in 1560 were in the Protestant minority. Even the Roman Catholic historian Florimond de Remond records⁸⁰ that the youths who were present at Du Bourg's execution at the stake on December 23, 1559, cursed the judges. "This punishment did more harm to Catholicism than 100 ministers would have done." To entangle one other powerful personage in the state was the aim of the Guises and he barely escaped the net. This was the Chancellor L'Hôpital, to whom with Coligny accrued the credit of the Edict of Romorantin and other lenitive measures. The Huguenot writer, General La Noue, overheard the duke of Alva exclaim: "Catch the big fishes! One salmon (L'Hôpital) is worth 10,000 frogs."⁸¹

Other instances of Guisard cruelty "for the good of the true religion" are plentiful. Maugiron was instructed to sack and put to fire and sword all of the reformed in Dauphiny.⁸² After the conspiracy of Amboise in the middle of March, 1560, Guise ordered the masters of the forests of the Orléannais, Berry, and Poitou to kill all suspects, without bringing them to him, and ugly rumors circulated that the Guises and Diane de Poitiers, Henry II's favorite, maintained at Paris a special staff of Italian and Spanish physicians for the purpose of making an unobtrusive end of the owners of certain benefices.

⁸⁰ Bulletin of French Protestantism, vol. xxxvii, p. 529.

⁸¹ Blackburn, Admiral Coligny and the Rise of the Huguenots, vol. ii, p. 40.

⁸² Arnaud, Dauphiné, p. 47.

CHAPTER VII

THE ARSENAL OF PROTESTANTISM

The certainty of civil war was assured by the turn of events in 1562. In less than fifteen years after that date a million perished in war in the name of religion. The struggle was bitter, for the sixteenth century was a period of ardent passions and little regard for human life. The contest was further intensified in that the Protestants were obliged to combat the authority of a long established monarchy as well as the mediaeval church. Indeed, it has been asserted that all excuses for the Huguenot revolt rest upon the minority of two of these kings,¹ and a Protestant biographer of Coligny, writing from another point of view, insists that the Calvinists were defeated because in a war for freedom of worship they were obliged to contend with the prestige of the king's name.² Furthermore at the outbreak of the war the Catholic party was strongly intrenched in the local government of the provinces. Not less than nine of the fourteen governors were of the royal faction.³

As early as July 26, 1561, Philip of Spain had learned from his minister Chantonnay that "in Brittany and Normandy things are turbulent as always."⁴ Two months later the Huguenots had seized the Garonne valley towns of Castres, Lavaur, Revel, Rabastens, and Realmont. The

¹ Weill, p. 39.

² Bersier, p. xvi (preface).

³ Laplanche, vol. i, p. 399. From the council of August, 1560, the lords went out to the following assignments: Montmorency, Isle-de-France; St. André, Moulins; Brissac, Picardy; Thermes, Loches; Villebon, Rouen; Nivernais, Champagne-Brie, then to Troyes; Montpensier, Touraine, to which were annexed the duchies of Anjou and Vendôme, and the counties of Maine, Blois, and Dunois; La Mothe-Gondrin, Dauphiny; Roche-sur Yon, Orléannais, duchy of Berri, Beausse, Chartrain and Montagris.

⁴ Archives Nationales, K. 1495, No. 54.

letter of the Catholic Joyeuse to Montmorency, dated September 30, also bore the information that the great Notre Dame Cathedral at Montpellier in Languedoc had been taken by four thousand Protestants.⁵ At intervals during December of 1561 Chantonnay reiterated in his reports the unrest in France. Utilizing Sundays to write his royal master at the new capital and "unica corte" of Madrid, the ambassador described on December 7 and 21, the great revolt in Gascony and at Amiens, in Picardy.⁶ On the 29th of December there came from the same source an account of a great insurrection at Meaux, a Huguenot center twenty-eight miles to the east of Paris.⁷

The year 1562 was ushered in with the Edict of Toleration of January 17, but a violent conflagration soon threatened the kingdom. We may pause to ask if this could have been avoided. In view of the fact that Henry II in his day had given aid to German Protestants, would not the incidents of Dreux and eventual civil war have been prevented if the wise Coligny's advice to send help to William of Orange against the Spanish Alva had been followed?

It was not Spanish intervention, but the massacre of Vassy, in Lorraine, on March 1, 1562, which immediately precipitated the first war of religion. On the 15th of February, as we have seen elsewhere, Francis of Guise had temporarily hoaxed the Protestant duke of Würtemberg at the conference of Saverne. On his way to Paris from the family estates at Joinville the retinue of Guise rode through the village of Vassy. On the outskirts a little Huguenot company of townspeople were worshipping in a barn on the Sabbath morning. Their assembly was according to the Edict of January, then but six weeks old. Yet the henchmen of Guise shot and hacked the men, women, and children of the congregation. The exact provocation and circumstances, authorities agree, will always remain sealed. Ranke tersely concludes that "whether the duke intended

⁵ Condé, vol. ii, p. 435.

⁶ Archives Nationales, K. 1495, Nos. 95, 105.

⁷ Ibid., No. 107.

the massacre or not, it is enough that he did not prevent it."⁸

March, 1562, was an eventful month. In less than three weeks the Huguenots had seized three dozen large towns.⁹ The importance of these cities may be realized when it is stated that the majority coincided with the famous itinerary of pacification of his kingdom undertaken by Charles IX in 1564-66. Beginning at Sens, southeast of Paris, the Protestants proceeded to capture Châlons-sur-Saône and Maçon in Burgundy; all the country about Lyons, west of La Bresse in the divisions of Forez and Lyonnais; Montbrison, southwest of Lyons, and Vienne, south of the same town, on the Dauphinese Rhone; then Romans, Tournon, Valence, and Montélimart, on the left bank of that river as it flows towards the Mediterranean. In eastern Dauphiny the important town of Grenoble was taken by the Huguenots, as were Gap, in the modern Hautes-Alpes, and Sisteron on the south side of the Durance river, forming the boundary between the divisions of Hautes- and Basses-Alpes. The Protestants of the Comtat-Venaissin subdued Avignon, at the juncture of the Rhône and the Durance, and the territory around this provincial capital, particularly Orange, directly north. From the southeastern corner of the kingdom the wave of Huguenot successes undulated to the Spanish boundary. In the northern (Velay) center (Vivarais), and southern (Cevennes) subdivisions of Upper Languedoc, Protestant successes were the rule. In Lower Languedoc five towns dotting the main highway to the Spanish frontier fell before the Huguenots: Nîmes, Aigues-Mortes, Montpellier, Beziers, and Castelnaudary, in addition to Castres, further north. The Béarnese, in the extreme southwest of France, led by their capitol, Pau, eagerly accepted the new doctrines.

As we traverse in imagination the western side of the square-shaped kingdom, we find that Lectoure in Gascony,

⁸ Ranke, *Civil Wars and Monarchy in France*, p. 211.

⁹ Mandet, *Histoire des Guerres civiles, politiques, et religieuses dans les montagnes du Velay pendant le 16e siècle*, p. 70.

Agen, Montauban and Milhau in Lower Guyenne, and La Rochelle in Aunis, opened their gates to the swift moving Huguenots. In the north, Havre, Rouen, Honfleur, and Dieppe declared for Condé, during the month under consideration, March, 1562. Possibly the Protestants at the outset were best entrenched in central France. The river Loire, coiling about the heart of the kingdom, was a favorite locality with the new sect. Starting at the mouth of the great river system, Angers, Pont-de-Cé and Saumur (Anjou), Tours (Touraine), Blois and Beaugency (Orléanais), Bourges (Berry) and Moulins (Bourbonnais) succumbed to or sided with the Huguenots. The culmination of the activities during March, 1562, was reached when Condé started from Meaux in Ile-de-France for Orléans. Ever since the promulgation of the Edict of January the great Louis had been preparing for the inevitable outbreak. Now after two months his forces were ready on March 29 to cross the Seine and advance upon Orléans, which for many years was destined to be the Protestant metropolis.

To the dismay of Catherine and the Guises the prince, along with Coligny, D'Andelot, and three thousand cavalry, appeared before the gates of Paris on the 29th of March.¹⁰ The draw-bridges, however, were raised, and all preparations made for a possible attack by the Protestants. Condé issued an edict to the effect that the young king was literally a captive of the Guises. When the Catholic leaders went further and abducted the sovereign to Melun, negotiations ceased and the Protestant leaders set out for Orléans. The Huguenot march to the capital of the Loire consumed five days, ending on the 2d of April. St. Cloud, Longjumeau, Montehéry, Etampes, Angerville, Toury, Artenay, and Cercottes heard the thud of Huguenot cavalry. Three days after the arrival of Condé at Orléans, Montmorency ordered the Calvinist temple near the Parisian Port St. Antoine razed and the contents burned. On the 8th, and again on the 25th of April, Condé accused the Triumvirate of begin-

¹⁰ Great Britain, Cal. St. P. For., No. 967, March 31, 1562.

ning the war, declared Vassy to have been a violation of the January Edict, and defended the Protestants for beginning hostilities, but his apology, although correct, did not win the universal approbation of the Huguenots. The town of La Rochelle and warm sympathizers like Louis de Gonzague, duke of Nevers, and the duke of Bouillon (so strongly Protestant that Aumale replaced him as governor of Normandy), refused at first to follow the lead.¹¹ On Sunday, April 12, three weeks after the day when his brother of Navarre attended mass and definitely declared himself a Romanist, Louis of Condé formally assumed command of the Huguenot forces. The first of the wars of religion had begun.

Hostilities now broke out all over France. Ile-de-France and Burgundy adhered to the established religion, the former from inclination, the latter on account of Marshal Tavannes. This cavalry leader retook Macon and Châlons-sur-Saône from the Huguenots, and prevented Dijon from falling into their hands. Montbrison retired to Lyons, leaving Burgundy clear of the Protestants.¹² In Dauphiny and Provence great massacres took place on both sides. The natives of these two provinces of the fiery south of France seemed cruel and warlike. It was in the same vicinity three hundred years previously that the Waldenses had sprung up. To assert that in any national commotion of such a nature the excesses were on one side only would be to assume that a portion of our race are angels. Generally the excesses of the oppressed party were retaliatory, hence, both iniquitous and defensible, and it may suffice to mention two noteworthy "butchers," one of each party. Baron des Adrets, starting the war on the Huguenot side, proclaimed all the Catholics in Dauphiny, Lyonnais, Burgundy, and Limousin rebels to the king. He captured Grenoble, Valence, and Châlons, in spite of the fact that Tavannes was said to have 8000 foot, 1500 horse, and 6000 Swiss from

¹¹ Castelnau, p. 166.

¹² Castelnau, p. 183.

Berne and Lucerne. From the roof of a castle at Mornas, in Dauphiny, Adrets caused two hundred men to be hurled: the hands which clutched at the window bars were severed with sword and ax.¹³ But the achievements of the baron pale into insignificance before those of the famous Monluc. The latter boasted that he "rather inclined to violence than to peace, and was more prone to fighting and cutting of throats than to making of speeches."¹⁴ As early as January, 1560, the veteran had been commissioned as the "conservateur de la Guyenne." We read that in one case his troops "were so few that we were not enough to kill them all," while before Agen the Huguenots "no sooner heard my name but they fancied the rope already about their necks." Pope Pius wrote Monluc: "You are making a glorious name."¹⁵ A historian of Upper Languedoc compared Adrets, who one month after the massacre of Vassy succeeded the deceased La Mothe-Gondarin as governor of Dauphiny,¹⁶ to a Tartar of the seventh century.¹⁷ He and his satellite Blaçons, like Monluc, were accused of leaving ruin behind them.

April, 1562, was almost as epoch-making as the preceding month. In addition to the cities already enumerated, the small towns of Ponteau-de-Mer, Pezenas, Pierrelot, Mornas, Montlinas, and Viviers were controlled by the Huguenots.¹⁸ Sens in Champagne, Toul in Lorraine, Abbéville in Picardy, Tours, Cahors in Quercy, Toulouse, and Agen were the scenes of bloody riots.¹⁹ In the latter city Charles IX called upon the governor of Guyenne to repress the violence.²⁰ On the fifth of the month Montmorency raided the homes and chapel of the Protestants of Paris at 3 a.m., burning books and benches. It was claimed that

¹³ Castelnau, p. 183.

¹⁴ Monluc, vol. iv, pp. III-225.

¹⁵ Blackburn, vol. ii, p. 47.

¹⁶ Capefigue, *Histoire de la Réforme*, p. 110.

¹⁷ Mandet, Velay, p. 27.

¹⁸ Haton, vol. i, p. 189.

¹⁹ Beza, vol. i, p. 416.

²⁰ *Inventaire des Archives communales d'Agen, Villeneuve-sur-Lot*, 1876, xxx, p. 28, Apr. 17, 1562.

seventy Huguenot soldiers were discovered in concealment in the home of Rose, *avocat du roi*. Two days later the Protestant military heads issued an urgent appeal for assistance from each of their 2150 churches.²¹ On the 11th of April the recruiting captains of the king in Normandy and Champagne were prevented by the Huguenots from enlisting soldiers in Rouen and Troyes.²² Eight days later the thoroughly frightened Catherine bade the triumvirate formally to invite the support of Spain. This was done on April 21.²³ The same day Rochefoucauld with four hundred horsemen and Grammont with four thousand Gascons started from Provence and Languedoc. Before they could join the Orléans troops, however, the force from Gascony was compelled to turn to the southeast to meet the Spanish reinforcements poured into Fortarbia to thwart a possible Huguenot attack upon Navarre. A despatch of the Catholic bishop St. Croix under date of April 29, 1562, conveyed the news that since the massacre at Sens eighty of the Reform had been killed and thirty of their homes burned at Paris.²⁴ Condé, on the last day of the month, reported the capture of Lyons "by the faithful in the king's name."²⁵

By the end of April Condé dominated these provinces: in the northwest, Maine, Anjou, Touraine, and much of Normandy, including Dieppe, Rouen, and Caen; in the west, Poitou, besides much of the middle Loire country; in the southwest, parts of Guyenne and Gascony, in which latter province the Huguenots were constantly intercepting couriers between the French and Spanish courts; in the southeast, Provence and Dauphiny, in addition to Lyons. The month of May was ushered in by the ordinance of Charles IX, issued on the second, which permitted those citizens of Paris fit to bear arms to form companies under chosen captains.²⁶ On the eighth the young king formally

²¹ St. Croix, p. 121.

²² St. Croix, p. 133.

²³ Archives Nationales, K. 1496, B. 14, No. 61.

²⁴ St. Croix, p. 133.

²⁵ Condé, vol. iii, p. 350, 4 j.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 419.

begged military aid of Philip II, who granted it exactly one month later.²⁷ Havre-de-Grâce, at the outlet of the Seine, was captured by the Protestants on May 14, much to the dismay of the Guises. Great was the alarm of the Catholics at the Huguenot occupation of Dieppe and Havre, for Paris was in danger of starving, once these two keys were assured to the enemy.²⁸ Almost simultaneously the government of Rouen was assumed by the Protestants. Before the end of the month Vendôme, Montargis, Auxerre (Champagne), La Charité (Nivernais), Poitiers, and most of the western provinces of Saintonge and Angoumois had declared for Condé.

In order to secure much needed funds the Huguenots took charge of the money in each province under their control, even to the extent of destroying the government registers in the towns. On one corner of a manuscript of the correspondence of Chantonnay found in the Archives nationales of Paris the Spanish king laconically wrote that the Catholics would be better off were they as active as the Huguenots.²⁹ Futile negotiations for peace were conducted between the 18th and 28th of May. Unless the citizens of Paris were more generous in their contributions it appeared that the royalists would not possess sufficient ordnance for the defense of the capital against any Huguenot assault. The Venetian ambassador in France recorded that at the opening of the first war of religion the Catholics could muster only twenty-two pieces of artillery.³⁰ Even in the middle of May only twenty-five cannon were available.³¹ Suriano is authority for the information that all the French (Protestant included) artillery and ammunition were of uniform and convenient size.³² On May 26 the turncoat

²⁷ Gachard, *Correspondance de Philippe II sur les Pays Bas*, vol. ii, pp. 218-221.

²⁸ Daval, Jean, *Histoire de la Réforme à Dieppe, 1557-1657*. 2 vols., Rouen, 1878; vol. i, p. 10.

²⁹ Archives Nationales, K. 1497, No. 33, May 2, 1562; Thompson, p. 147.

³⁰ *Relations . . . vénétiens*, vol. ii, p. 101.

³¹ Great Britain, Cal. St. P. For., No. 106, May 28, 1562.

³² Suriano, p. 361.

Antoine of Bourbon proclaimed that all Protestants should be expelled from the capital and that their possessions might be confiscated by the financially embarrassed Catholic bourgeois.³³

Parleys rather than fighting marked the cold month of June, 1562. On the third of the month Aurillac in Auvergne was entered by the Huguenots. On the other hand four thousand Swiss from the Catholic cantons had enabled the brilliant cavalry leader Tavannes to save the Burgundian cities of Châlons-sur-Saône, Dijon, and Macon for the king. The May negotiations had failed because the brother of Coligny, Odet cardinal Châtillon, protested to Catherine de Medicis that peace would be impossible unless the Triumvirate were banished from court. A truce, ending June 21, was declared by the opposing forces near Orléans, commanded by the brothers Condé and Navarre. The Catholic Bourbon urged his brother to heed the king's proffer to allow the Huguenots to remain unharmed in their homes until a council could settle the mooted questions. Liberty of conscience was promised. To Condé's insistence that the January Edict be observed in Paris there was point-blank refusal. The truce of Beaugency terminated when the Catholics, presumably through the Triumvirate, demanded that Condé, the three Châtillons, and all Huguenot officers and clergymen should be banished from France until Charles IX attained the age of twenty-one, that is, in 1571. Prince Louis returned from audience with the queen to the Calvinist camp, and war commenced anew on June 29.³⁴ The warfare during the several months must have been more than fairly successful from the Huguenot viewpoint, for Chantonay recorded on the 6th of June that all the horrors of the Goths had been surpassed.³⁵ On the 3rd of July the prince of Condé captured Beaugency, then retired towards Orléans. The despatches of the English am-

³³ Great Britain, Cal. St. P. For., No. 107; Condé, vol. iii, p. 462; Archives Nationales, K. 1497, No. 36.

³⁴ Weill, p. 107.

³⁵ Lettenhove, p. 79.

bassador of the date of July 12, 1562, were to the effect that the inhabitants of Caen, Bayeux, and most of the places in lower Normandy were defacing images and intercepting the king's revenues.³⁶ Montbrison in Auvergne, one of the less noted parts of the theatre of war, was attacked on July 13 by Adrets, and in the account we read that it was pillaged for two days by four thousand soldiers.³⁷ On the twenty-first of the month the duke d'Aumale took Honfleur for the king. In the same Norman province the city of Rouen was such a hotbed of Calvinism that Charles IX issued a declaration transferring the Rouennais Parlement to Louviers.³⁸ Less than twenty-four hours separated the last two episodes. The king ordered Baron Castelnau to make a magazine of the Seine valley as far as Havre, but on both sides of the river all Normandy was waste. Trade was dead. Many of both sects lived in caves. It was in vain that Aumale offered to relieve the peasants from all taxes and dangled visions of the sack and loot of chateaux. In late July St. André captured the capitals of Poitou and Angoumois, while the duke of Guise further north was subduing the Touraine towns of Chinon and Loudun.³⁹ In the meanwhile Aumale had been commissioned at the instance of the Triumvirate to levy necessary troops to perpetuate the Catholic cause in Burgundy, Champagne, and Brie. During the closing days of the month 6000 lansquenets were marching across the Ile-de-France to Blois. To assist Joyeuse, lieutenant-governor of Languedoc, the Roman pontiff Pius IV despatched his own nephew at the head of 2500 troops.⁴⁰ About the same time Roggendorf, the famous Catholic recruiter, arrived in France with twelve hundred pistoleers from Germany. Encamped in Champagne were the Rhinegrave, with two hundred pistoleers and two regiments of infantry, and the Swiss captain Froelich, commanding fifteen Helvetian ensigns.

³⁶ Great Britain, Cal. St. P. For., No. 303, July 12, 1562.

³⁷ Duparcq, Charles IX, p. 152.

³⁸ Condé, vol. iii, p. 524.

³⁹ Archives de la Gironde, vol. xvii, p. 270.

⁴⁰ Négociations toscanes, vol. iii, p. 492.

One writer divides the internal troubles of mid-year, 1562, into six parts: (1) Dauphiny; (2) Provence; (3) Languedoc; (4) Périgord, Limousin, Agenois; (5) Anjou; (6) Bretagne.⁴¹ The first three represent the southern theatre, the fourth the southwest, and the last two the far northwest. When the war broke out the Roman Catholics in the northwest arose against the Protestants, with the spirit which animated La Vendée during the Revolution: in the southwest the Huguenots took the initiative. August seems to have been noteworthy chiefly for the siege of Bourges, in Berry, by the Catholics. Inside the town were 3500 Huguenot defenders with sufficient food but no superior ordnance. The garrison was anxiously awaiting succor from D'Andelot, who had crossed the Rhine to obtain assistance. The Protestant leanings of this younger brother of Coligny had so angered the king during one interview that it was reported that the monarch hurled a plate at his head.⁴² At this crisis his effort to bring in German cavalry was too late by three weeks to save Bourges, which capitulated on the last day of August.⁴³ Philip of Spain grumbled at the reasonable terms of surrender, which included the assurance of life, property, and liberty of conscience to all the soldiers and civilians of the town in exchange for 50,000 livres. Surely those of the Reform would never thus have entrusted themselves to Monluc in Guyenne or to Cursol in Languedoc. The racy memoirs of Monluc inform us that in many towns the Protestant ministers promised the king's soldiers heaven, if they would desist, and the author adds that many actually accepted the offer, especially at Montauban.⁴⁴

The Protestants were in daily expectation of the arrival of the German pistoleers and footmen who were to be led by Casimir, second son of the Count Palatine. The foreign princes were so tardy in their response that Louis of Condé

⁴¹ Duparcq, Henri II, vol. ii, p. 157.

⁴² Hanna, p. 38.

⁴³ Raynal, *Histoire du Berry*, 4 vols., Bourges, 1844-47; vol. iv; *Négociations toscanes*, vol. iii, p. 494.

⁴⁴ Monluc, *Commentaires*, p. 220.

tried to stimulate activity by promising their troops the pillage of Paris.⁴⁵ Under these circumstances the first avalanche of the fearsome reiters descended upon France. On September 22, 1562, ten troops of cavalry (2600) and twelve battalions of lansquenets (3000) crossed the Rhine under the command of Hesse, whom Castelnau considered a very indifferent soldier.⁴⁶ It was the long expected force of D'Andelot. The day before Monluc for the king had captured Agen, in Lower Guyenne.⁴⁷ On the twenty-fourth the English proclamation for the expedition into Normandy was promulgated, one fortnight subsequent to the signing of the treaty of Hampton Court by Elizabeth of England and the Prince of Condé. September saw the Protestants enter Lyons and abandon the siege of Pertuis, while Sisteron, one of the keys of Provence, was retaken by the Catholics.

On October 1 the English set sail for Havre and the place was occupied three days later. Fifty miles up the Seine the troops of Aumale had been besieging Rouen for over a month, while the vacillating policy of the English government refused to allow the earl of Warwick to leave the coast to succor the beleaguered town. The theory of Castelnau was that Rouen could have been captured in twenty-four hours by the Catholics, but the king and the chancellor would not hear of it, because the trades of the town would expect full satisfaction and guarantee from the sovereign.⁴⁸ On Friday, the 16th of October, Montgomery, the defender of the town, parleyed with Catherine and Damville, second son of the constable Montmorency. The Huguenots proposed that the edict of January should be amended to include Calvinist preaching inside, as well as outside, of the French cities.⁴⁹ Simultaneously the royal government was treating with the prince of Condé, stipulating that town worship was to be confined to Huguenot

⁴⁵ Condé, vol. iii, p. 630.

⁴⁶ Castelnau, p. 171.

⁴⁷ Condé, vol. ii, p. 20.

⁴⁸ Castelnau, p. 174.

⁴⁹ Great Britain, Cal. St. P. For., No. 901, Oct. 23, 1562.

homes. The counter proposal to Condé's suggestion that in the event of peace the king should reimburse the reiters on the Protestant side, was that both German auxiliaries and Huguenot troops should first drive the English from French soil. In each case the opponents were hopelessly far from a compromise. Three days following the truce arranged by Montgomery, Charles IX issued an order proclaiming pardon to all who would assist in expelling the English and Germans.⁵⁰ Meanwhile great breaches had been caused in the walls of Rouen by mines and large shot and through these the Catholic Germans and French swarmed on October 26. The sack was terrible. For eight days the city was plundered, especially by the courtiers, generally the "greatest harpies." Eventually the order was given to leave the town, but the "French suffered themselves to be killed rather than quit the place while there was anything left!"⁵¹ The crimes committed at this siege made a deep impression upon the remainder of the kingdom. When Joyeuse, lieutenant-governor of Languedoc, marshalled all the Catholic forces of his province and of Provence for an assault upon Montpellier, in the far south of France, all its citizens rushed to the defense, regardless of religion.⁵² At Rouen, Pastor Marlorat and two elders of the Reformed church were officially executed at the conclusion of the siege.

November was noteworthy for Condé's march upon Paris. The Catholic historian Aumale admits that the prince could have captured Paris had he pressed forward on November 28.⁵³ The lost chance did not occur again. The rapid march upon the capital had found many of the royal soldiers on a furlough, with only meagre rations stored in the city. In order to offset their unpreparedness Catherine and the Guises played for time. At Etampes, where the prince's cavalry arrived on November 25, Condé was cajoled with

⁵⁰ Condé, vol. iv, p. 38.

⁵¹ Castelnau, p. 174.

⁵² Ibid., p. 188.

⁵³ Aumale, p. 145.

peace overtures. On his part the Bourbon leader claimed the position of lieutenant-governor of France and proposed several modified demands along lines of religious toleration. In the first instance, Huguenot preaching was to be allowed in the suburbs of frontier towns, or in several designated ones; secondly, these sermons should be delivered only in those towns where they had been permitted prior to the outbreak of hostilities; thirdly, all nobles and gentlemen might lawfully hold private services in their own houses; finally, those persons residing in places where preaching was not allowed should be permitted to proceed to the nearest towns or other places for the exercise of their religion, without molestation. In reply, the government excepted Paris and its suburbs from these conditions, but consented to consider Lyons as an interior rather than a frontier city.⁵⁴

It was not until the 3rd of December that the government and Condé accepted these articles. Suddenly the royalists terminated the negotiations. To everyone but Condé the reason was obvious. Paris during the truce had been so replenished with Gascons and Spaniards that more than fifteen thousand troops were now available. Condé, with less than half that number, felt compelled to withdraw towards Normandy and sought to effect a junction with the earl of Warwick. In the several weeks preceding December 9, the date of Condé's withdrawal from Paris, the Huguenot operations had been chiefly in Normandy, where they had taken St. Lô, Vire, Bayeux, Dieppe, and Honfleur.⁵⁵ Brissac suggested that the king move the army of Guise from the siege of Orléans to Normandy before all the maritime ports should fall into English hands. Unfortunately the prince of Condé was south of the Seine. To join Warwick he must cross the river, which was guarded at Poissy by Francis of Guise and at Pont de l'Arche, near Rouen, by Villebon and the Rhinegrave. On the 19th of December, 1562, while Condé's forces were endeavoring to cross

⁵⁴ Beza, *Histoire des églises réformées*, vol. ii, p. 121, ed. 1841.

⁵⁵ Castelnau, p. 223.

the river Eure, a branch of the Seine, the famous battle of Dreux was begun.

Duparcq estimated that at the time of this battle, the royal armies comprised 55,000 men in the field, with an additional 45,000 in the different garrisons.⁵⁶ Castelnau is authority for the figures at Dreux. The royal army, according to him, had 14,000 infantry and 2000 cavalry; Condé, 8000 foot soldiers and 4000 horsemen.⁵⁷ Throckmorton, the English ambassador, recorded that there were 6000 French infantry and 2000 native cavalry, besides 3500 reiters and 4000 lansquenets from Germany. Accepting this higher estimate the Calvinists were yet inferior in numbers to the Catholics. Furthermore, the Protestants were wasting their strength upon local enterprises scattered about the provinces. The effect of concentration in one or two main drives of the military resources of 2150 parishes would have been incalculable. The history of the periods of Louis XIV and Napoleon would probably read quite differently had the Huguenots, by the addition of several thousand native soldiers, won a decisive victory in the battle of Dreux.

The duke of Guise commanded the advance guard of the Catholics against Admiral Coligny for the Protestants; the main army of the former was led by St. André, opposed by D'Andelot and his reiters, who had received no wages for three months.⁵⁸ The two rear guards were commanded, respectively, by the constable Montmorency and Condé. At the outset the Huguenot cavalry under Coligny captured Montmorency, who was despatched to Orléans, the Protestant capital. The lumbering reiters of D'Andelot supported the next charge so clumsily that the prince of Condé, unhorsed, was left a prisoner in the Catholic array. Although the strife was so fierce that the commander of each rear guard was captured by the enemy, the Huguenot infantry lost the day by retiring in disorder without making even a

⁵⁶ Duparcq, Charles IX, p. 548.

⁵⁷ Castelnau, vol. iv, p. 205.

⁵⁸ Great Britain, Cal. St. P. For., No. 16, Jan. 3, 1563.

charge. A priest estimated the Protestant losses at over 6000, the Catholic at one-third that number.⁵⁹ But the dissolution of the famous Triumvirate now began. St. André fell in this battle, while the constable was made a prisoner. Within two months the great Francis of Guise fell under the dagger of the assassin Poltrot.⁶⁰

On the 8th of March, 1563, eleven weeks after the battle of Dreux, Condé and Montmorency were simultaneously released from captivity. As men of the hour, now that Guise was dead, their counsel was necessary in the peace overtures. On March 19 Charles IX formally decreed religious toleration. Prince Louis of Condé, the Bourbon, "one of the arms of the [king's] body,"⁶¹ with whom the temptations used upon his brother Navarre had been of no avail,⁶² was appointed lieutenant-general of the realm.⁶³ This Peace of Amboise, March 19, 1563, terminated the first of the four civil wars of religion in France.

⁵⁹ Haton, vol. i, p. 311.

⁶⁰ A contemporaneous cavalry leader recorded in his memoirs several remarkable happenings at Dreux: the generosity of the Swiss, and their great proofs of valor; the long patience of Guise in attaining the decision; a five-hour battle, instead of one of the usual duration of one-third the time; the taking as prisoners of two rival generals. (*La Noue*, p. 605.) Moreover it seems to have been evidence of mutual exhaustion that news of the battle, which terminated at dusk on one of the shortest days of the year, did not reach Paris, only twelve leagues distant, until 3 A. M. Six hours later, on the quiet Sabbath morning, *Sieur de Losses* rode through the St. Honoré gate, crying: "Guise has won the battle; Condé is prisoner!" (*Vieilleville*, p. 323.) The chronicler of this information, *Vieilleville*, accepted the marshal's baton, succeeding St. André, killed in action.

⁶¹ *Lettenhove*, p. 80.

⁶² *Aumale*, p. 94.

⁶³ Great Britain, *Cal. St. P. For.*, No. 473, March, 1563.

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VITA

Born in Baltimore in 1887, I attended the public schools of this city. After graduating from the Baltimore City College in 1905, I received the degree of Bachelor of Arts from Johns Hopkins University in 1908. For the three succeeding years, I followed the regular graduate courses in history, political science, and philosophy in this University. In 1910-1912 I pursued my studies abroad and travelled sixty thousand miles in Africa, Asia, and Europe in company with Professor Harlan P. Beach, of Yale University. To my sojourn in France and Spain and in French North and West Africa, and to interviews with Huguenot missionaries from the Congo to the Cape, I attribute the inspiration for the dissertation on "French Protestantism: 1559-1562."

